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# THE ROMANIC REVIEW

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## STEFANO GUAZZO AND HIS CIRCLE\*

By John Leon Lievsay

STEFANO GUAZZO was highly esteemed in his own time and had a significant influence upon European life and thought for a century or more thereafter. Indeed, among Italian writers of the second half of the sixteenth century, his name comes next to that of Torquato Tasso in the list of those who spread Italian culture throughout the rest of Europe. Today he has disappeared from the ordinary records of literary history, and this disappearance falsifies our understanding of the literary climate of his time.<sup>1</sup>

There exists no adequate biography of Guazzo;<sup>2</sup> neither of his two major works has been reprinted in Italy since the seventeenth century; there is no modern collection of either his letters or his poetry; he has been more written about, and more sensibly written about, outside Italy than among his countrymen; but, among those who have written about him, he has been variously victimized through bibliographical inadequacy,<sup>3</sup> confusion with other Guazzi, *parti pris*,<sup>4</sup> and downright scholarly ineptitude. Knowl-

\* A somewhat different form of this paper was read at the Fourth Annual South-Central Renaissance Conference, Tulane University, Nov. 3, 1954.

1. The five-volume *Storia della letteratura italiana* by Francesco Flora (7th ed., Milano: Mondadori, 1952-53), for instance, does not mention Guazzo; and the latest (ninth) edition of N. Sapegno, *Compendio di storia della letteratura italiana*, 3 vols. (Firenze: La Nuova Italia, 1953), II, 133, and Giuseppe Toffanin, *Il Cinquecento* (4th ed., Milano: Vallardi, 1950), p. 501, barely name the *Civil conversazione*. Some incidental mention of Guazzo is found in the older works of Ghilini, Crescimbeni, Quadrio, and Tiraboschi.

2. The best account of Guazzo's life, though brief and not always accurate, is still that of Giovanni Canna in his *Scritti letterarii* (Casale Monferrato: C. Cassone, 1919), pp. 237-60; and the worst, that of Gioseffantonio Morano in his *Catalogo degli illustri scrittori di Casale* (Asti, 1771). Guazzo has no entry in the *Encyclopaedia Britannica*, in the *Enciclopedia italiana* (Treccani), or in the Bompiani *Dizionario letterario*. Where scanty information is available in other more or less standard works of reference, it is likely to provide such inaccuracies as the statement in the Scifoni *Dizionario biografico universale*, 5 vols. (Firenze: Passigli, 1840-49) that Guazzo "morì a Padova nel 1565," or that of Giovanni Casati's *Dizionario degli scrittori d'Italia* (Milano: R. Ghirlanda, n.d.), II, 246, which makes him "uno dei fondatori dell' Accademia degli Argonauti di Casale."

3. This will be clear when it is realized that the fullest Italian bibliographical accounts of Guazzo are those of Giambattista Passano, *I Novellieri italiani* (2nd ed., Torino: Paravia, 1878), I, 374-78, and of Luigi Bonfigli, *Stefano Guazzo e la sua raccolta di proverbi* (Arezzo: E. Sinatti, 1905), pp. 3-4, 79. Passano lists twenty editions of the *Civil conversazione* in Italian, French, and Latin (only Reusner's 1650 ed.); Bonfigli knew of but twenty editions in Italian and of five translations—into French (two), Latin (Reusner only), Spanish, and English.

4. It is most unfortunate, for instance, that the only modern edition of the *Civil conversazione*—the Tudor Translations reprint of the Pettie-Young translation (London, 1925; ed. pr., 1586)—should have been edited by Sir Edward Sullivan, whose main concern in his Introduction is to support, by untenably general parallel passages, his thesis that Shakespeare could hardly have written his plays without the aid of Guazzo's book.

edge of Guazzo must now be recovered from a variety of widely scattered sources and from inferences based upon statements in his own writings. Fortunately, Guazzo was a friendly and communicative man who undertook several collaborative projects, wrote numerous letters, and cultivated a large and interesting circle of acquaintances. Examination of these enables one to come at least to a sensible measure of his stature.

The bare outlines of Guazzo's career may be quickly sketched. The family of the Guazzi was of ancient, honored, and noble descent, taking its origins from the environs of Pavia<sup>5</sup> and in the late Middle Ages supplying several leading officials to that city. Thereafter the branches of the family spread to other North Italian cities; Stefano, although he always described himself as "*gentilhuomo di Casale*," appears actually to have been born in the neighboring city of Trino<sup>6</sup> in the year 1530. The Monferratese Guazzi had long been faithful and honored servants of the ruling family, the Paleologhi, and of the regional overlords, the Gonzagha, dukes of Mantua. Giovanni Guazzo, father of Stefano, was for thirty-six years treasurer to the dukes of Mantua; and his son, after an education in law, presumably at Pavia,<sup>7</sup> and under the guidance of the celebrated legal professor, Andrea Alciati, began his service to the Gonzagha as secretary to Margherita Paleologa, Marchioness of Monferrato and, by her marriage to Federigo Gonzaga, Duchess of Mantua. Thereafter, as attendant upon Lodovico Gonzaga, later Duke of Nevers, and in sundry other official capacities, as representative of the Duchy of Mantua, Guazzo went to the French court, to Spain,<sup>8</sup> and to the Holy See. He was in France from 1555 to 1562, and again in 1564. Sometime early in the sixties he founded in Casale his *Accademia degl' Illustrati*,<sup>9</sup> successor to the earlier *Argonauti* established there by the disreputable Nicolò Franco. In 1566 the Duchess Margherita died, and Guazzo seized this opportunity to retire from active courtier's life. In the same year he married Francesca da Ponte. Thereafter, the history of his life is the quiet record of his writing, his friendships, and his fatherly care for the education of his children, Olimpia and Giovan Antonio.<sup>10</sup> For nearly twenty years only the death of Francesca, his second marriage, the death of his second wife, Bartolommea, the abominable Casalese summers, and his own periodic attacks of melancholy disturbed the even tenor of his days. Toward the end of 1589, while Giovan Antonio was engaged upon his legal studies at the University of

5. Vincenzo De Conti, *Notizie storiche della città di Casale e del Monferrato*, 8 vols. (Casale, 1840), V, 35-36.

6. Gianandrea Irico, *Rerum patriae, libri III* (Milan, 1745), p. 317.

7. Bonfigli, *Stefano Guazzo e la sua raccolta di proverbi*, p. 8n., upon what basis I cannot discover, believes that Guazzo pursued his university studies in Paris.

8. Guazzo, *Lettere* (Venezia: Barezzi, 1599), p. 351.

9. For particulars, see Michele Maylender, *Storia delle accademie d'Italia*, 5 vols. (Bologna: L. Cappelli, 1926-30), III (1929), 144-46.

10. Arturo Graf, *Attraverso il cinquecento* (Torino: Loescher, 1888), p. 188n, points out that Guazzo's voice was one of the few of his time in Italy to be raised against the general disesteem in which teachers as a class were held.

Pavia, Guazzo himself took up residence in that city, was made a citizen, received high honors for his literary eminence, and was elected head of the local *accademia*, that of the *Affidati*. It was in Pavia that Guazzo began to move in the circle of the ancient Beccaria family, one of whose members, the Countess Angela Bianca, he celebrated in his final literary effort. And it was in Pavia that he died, on 6 December, 1593. According to Ghilini, at his burial "i suoi amici letterati fecero in lode sua molte composizioni, & in particolare alcuni Epitaffi, i quali furono posti nella cassa doue giaceua, e con la qual' hebbe sepoltura."<sup>11</sup>

The roster of Guazzo's publications begins in 1550 with a Latin elegy on the death of Andrea Alciati, the peripatetic jurist who had ended his wandering days lecturing at the University of Pavia.<sup>12</sup> The elegy was not an independent publication but was, apparently, at least twice issued from the same press and in the same year, once as one of the several poems constituting a supplement to the funeral oration pronounced over Alciati by his "disciple" Alessandro Grimaldi and once as a similar supplement to the funeral oration pronounced by Pietro Varondello.<sup>13</sup> Probably because it is the longest of the poems, Guazzo's *carmen* is given the first position. It is a piece of conventional grieving and in no way remarkable beyond showing that its youthful author was already adept in the unprofitable business of versifying in a language not his own. It does, however, prepare us for the praise which his contemporaries were to bestow on other of Guazzo's Latin compositions, such as the ingenious Latin sonnet printed in his *Dialoghi*.<sup>14</sup> Guazzo's early connection with Alciati may also explain his subsequent interest in emblems.<sup>15</sup> Though he went on to take the doctorate "in both laws," no record remains to indicate whether Guazzo had any further connection with the other contributors to these funereal mementos—Grimaldi, Varondello, Giulio Zurla, Count Constantino Landi, and Federigo Scotto. But throughout his lifetime he retained his interest in the law; and his brother Agostino, who practiced in Asti, was distinguished enough to have one of his decisions in canon law recorded in a notable volume of case-histories.<sup>16</sup> It would be interesting to discover a record, which may well

11. *Teatro d'Huomini letterati* (Venetia, 1647), II, 230.

12. Reprinted in facsimile by Henry Green, *Grimaldi's Funeral Oration . . . for Andrea Alciati* (London & Manchester: for the Holbein Society, 1871).

13. Cf. H. Green, *Andrea Alciati and His Books of Emblems* (London: Trübner & Co., 1872), p. 291. Green, who knew better, here transcribes the name as Stefano Grazio.

14. *Dialoghi piacevoli* (Venetia: Bertano, 1586), p. 69a.

15. Mario Praz, *Studies in Seventeenth-Century Imagery. II: A Bibliography of Emblem Books* (London: Warburg Institute, 1947), p. 74, lists the fifth of Guazzo's *Dialoghi piacevoli*. Guazzo's interest in the genre is manifest throughout the *Civil conversazione* and in his *Lettere* (ed. 1599), p. 268. His indebtedness to Alciati on this score is discussed, inexhaustively, in an early article of mine: "Stefano Guazzo and the *Emblemata* of Andrea Alciati," *PQ*, XVIII (April, 1939), 204-10.

16. In Vol. II, pp. 188b-191a of the *Responsorum seu Consiliorum ad diversas causas* (Venetijs: M. Amadorum, 1573) of Battista Martianesi.

exist, of Guazzo's acquaintance with Alciati's other most illustrious pupil, Guido Panciroli, who was presently to instruct Torquato Tasso in law at Padua. That he knew Tasso himself is very likely.<sup>17</sup>

Whatever other compositions of the intervening years may yet lie in manuscript or scattered unnoted in other printed volumes, the next publication of Guazzo's that I have been able to trace is an anthology of letters, *Lettere volgari di diversi Gentilhuomini del Monferrato*, published at Brescia in 1565.<sup>18</sup> This very small octavo contains 163 letters, of which seventeen are addressed to Guazzo and twenty-four are written by him. Most of his own contributions are reprinted, occasionally with considerable changes, in his later collected *Lettere*.<sup>19</sup> The volume is dedicated in affectionate terms to Isabella Gonzaga, Marchesa di Pescara, daughter of the Duchess Margherita, and is graced with a commendatory sonnet addressed to Guazzo by Anselmo Morra, one of his fellow-*Illustrati*. Beyond indicating the friendly regard in which Guazzo was held by his Casalese neighbors and other Piedmontese, and bearing witness to his reputation as a skilled letter-writer, the volume is of small intrinsic interest. One letter (from Ettore Miroglio to Francesco Crotto) does discuss the previously mentioned Latin sonnet written by Guazzo, in the main praising it, but raising some doubts as to the propriety of using "heroic" (i.e., hexameter) verse in a sonnet and likewise the propriety of using rhyme in Latin and Greek.<sup>20</sup> Of the other contributors to the volume, some of whom are to be encountered again in Guazzo's later works, only two are of more than local interest: Gherardo Borgogni and Oliviero Capello. Borgogni was a poet of rising contemporary fame and one of Guazzo's oldest and closest friends. Capello was the hero of the Casalese struggle against the Gonzagha,<sup>21</sup> and although he and Guazzo must often have met, there can hardly have existed much intimacy between the fervid patriot and the loyal servant of the Gonzagha. Curiously enough, Capello's one contribution to the volume is a discussion of—love.

Upon the death of the Duchess Margherita in 1566, Guazzo, in his double capacity as her secretary and as leading spirit of the *Illustrati*, became in-

17. Both Bernardo and Torquato were at the Mantuan court in 1563, precisely in the interval between Guazzo's first and second French missions. See F. Flora, ed. Tasso's *Poesie* (Milano: Rizzoli, 1934), p. 11.

18. T. F. Crane, *Italian Social Customs of the Sixteenth Century* (New Haven, 1920), p. 387, mentions an edition of 1563, no copy of which has ever come to my hands.

19. Only three of Guazzo's letters are not reprinted: (1) To Francesco Papalardo, dated from Casale, 2 Sept., 1561 (pp. 188b-189a); (2) to William Guazzo, his brother, dated from Orleans, 13 Jan., 1556 (pp. 189b-190b); (3) "Al Sig. Vicario di Casale," dated from Mantua, 15 Nov., 1560 (p. 191a).

20. *Lettere volgari di diversi Gentilhuomini*, pp. 159b-161a.

21. Capello figures as hero in Pietro Corelli's historical romance, *Oliviero Capello, storia del Monferrato del secolo XVI* (Casale: Casuccio, 1846), a work in which Guazzo, an attendant in the company of Girolamo Vida, Bishop of Alba, is also introduced (Bk. III, ch. v, p. 103). A somewhat soberer, and more trustworthy, account of the struggle between Capello and the Gonzagha may be read in Ercole Ricotti, *Storia della monarchia piemontese*, 6 vols. (Firenze: Barbèra, 1861-69), II (1861), 290-301; or in Romolo Quazza, *Preponderanze straniere* (Milano: Vallardi, 1938), pp. 46-51.

volved in another anthological venture. This was the necrological *Lagrima de gl'Illustrati academici di Casale in morte dell'illustrissima, et eccellentissima Madama Margherita Paleologa*, published at Trino<sup>22</sup> the next year. After an unsigned group dedication (probably written by Guazzo) to Isabella Gonzaga, there follows a list of the contributors, together with their academic designations. Of the more strictly literary figures represented, we may note the miscellaneous writer Annibale Guasco, called *Il Tenebroso*, chief literary ornament of the neighboring city of Alessandria; the jurist-poet Francesco Pugiella (*L'Invaghito*), and the poet Silvio Calandra (*Il Sollecito*). Among the others we find Annibale Magnocavalli, Giovan Giacomo Bottazzo, and Guglielmo Cavagliate, all of whom are to reappear as interlocutors in Guazzo's *Civil conversazione*; Anselmo Morra, already met in the *Lettere volgari*; Giovanni Matteo Volpe, who was to contribute a prefatory sonnet to the *Civil conversazione*; and, notably, one Spaniard, Don Sancho di Londogno (*El Confiado*). Still other names in the list recur among the great host of Guazzo's correspondents in the *Lettere*. Guazzo's own academic name appears as *L'Elevato*, and his contributions to the volume are two: an *Oratione in morte di Madama Margherita Paleologa*, which occupies the first eighteen pages of text, and six pages of poems about equally divided between laments for the departed and a consolatory address to her daughter. The poems are neither better nor worse than the usual run of such perfunctory effusions; the oration rises to some warmth and dignity of expression, occasionally a trifle over-wrought but always equally witness to the austere piety of the Duchess and to the unfeigned admiration and devotion of her secretary. The volume is on the one hand a record of Guazzo's sincere attachment to the Paleologhi-Gonzagha and on the other of the closely knit fellowship of the little academy that dominated the intellectual life of Casale for half a century, letting its light so shine—its motto, appropriately, "*Lux Indeficiens*"—that it cast its beams even upon the rude wilderness of far-distant America. A copy of the *Civil conversazione* was among the books in Elder Brewster's colonial library.<sup>23</sup>

All of these compositions, however, variously interesting and informative as they may be from the biographical and historical points of view, fade into insignificance beside Guazzo's next publication, and his major effort, the *Civil conversazione* (Brescia, 1574).<sup>24</sup> The book met a real need. A practical treatise on moral philosophy and the conduct of life, addressed primarily to bourgeois readers, the *Civil conversazione* was at once more serious and

22. Antonio Manno, *Bibliografia di Casale Monferrato* (Torino: G. B. Paravia, 1890), p. 35, says *Torino*. But both the title-page and the colophon of the copy which I have examined in the Biblioteca Civica of Casale clearly read *Trino*.

23. No. 258 of the inventory made in 1644; cf. *Proceedings of the Massachusetts Historical Society*, Ser. II, vol. 5 (1889-90), pp. 66-67.

24. Following Passano, *I Novellieri italiani*, I, 374, and Marino Parenti, *Prime edizioni italiane* (Milano, 1948), p. 285, I cite this as the first edition. But two other editions appeared in Venice in the same year, one by Enea de Alaris and one by Altobello Salicato.



vastly more comprehensive than the *Galateo* of Della Casa, more realistically forward-looking and less aristocratic than *Il Cortegiano*, less abstract and Aristotelian than the *Institutione morale* of Alessandro Piccolomini. In consequence, it elicited an immediate and resounding European acclaim. Between 1574 and 1631 it was issued in Italian no fewer than thirty-four times; it was twice, independently, translated into French in 1579 by the royal historiographers Belleforest and Chappuys, and each translation was several times republished. Thereafter it was in rapid succession three times translated into Latin in independent versions,<sup>25</sup> translated into English, into German, into Dutch, and into Spanish. By 1673, in a full century of vigorous life, it had been published in one or another language at least sixty-two times: its title had become the generic label for a whole class of literature,<sup>26</sup> and its author's name was a household word.<sup>27</sup> Its impact upon the literature of Tudor-Stuart England, a subject too broad for treatment here,<sup>28</sup> was immense, varied, and of the very highest significance. In England, at least, so far from being a mere rival of the *Cortegiano* of Castiglione, during the half century or so of its heyday, it actually supplanted that more publicized work;<sup>29</sup> and in lasting influence it may yet prove to be an equally powerful book. For the significance of a literary work is measured, in part, by the use to which *bona fide* readers have put it, and, so measured, the *Civil conversazione* compares with the best that the sixteenth century produced.

Among literary forms, Guazzo had a fondness for the dialogue, and into his dialogues—the *Civil conversazione*, the *Dialoghi piacevoli*, and the *Ghirlanda*—he was accustomed to introduce as interlocutors his own intimate acquaintances. In the first three Books of the *Civil conversazione*, for instance, the two speakers are his brother William and the Casalese physician and fellow-academician, Annibale Magnocavalli; and the fourth Book

25. By H. Coggeman (Cologne, 1585); by H. Salmuth (Hamburg, 1596; repr. 1598, 1602, 1608, 1614, 1623, 1624); and by Elias Reusner (Jena, 1606; repr. 1635, 1650).

26. Cf. Georg Draud, *Bibliotheca Classica sive Catalogus officinalis* (Frankfurt, 1625), p. 1069, where one of the subdivisions under the "Libri Historici, Geographici, et Politici" bears the caption "Conuersatio ciuilis"; and see also Michael Roberts, *Elizabethan Prose* (London: Jonathan Cape, 1933), the section entitled "Of Manners and Civil Conversation."

27. In Italy, Annibale Guasco, sending his daughter off to be a Lady-in-waiting to the Duchess of Savoy, advises her, in his *Ragionamento . . . a D. Lavinia sua figliuola* (Torino: erede del Bevilacqua, 1586), p. 26a, to con the pages of "la conuersatione del Guazzo, libro così vtile, che non è alcuno, il quale faccia professione di lettere et di costumi, che non l'habbia nel suo studio." In France, according to Raoul Morçay, *La Renaissance* (Paris, 1933), p. 268, for perfection in manners and civility at the end of the sixteenth and beginning of the seventeenth centuries, "naturellement on lit toujours, soit dans le texte, soit dans des traductions du XVI<sup>e</sup> siècle, la *Conuersation civile* de Guazzo, parue à Venise en 1574, qui est presque uniquement le tableau des qualités que doit avoir un entretien mondain." For England, cf. William G. Crane, *Wit and Rhetoric in the Renaissance* (New York: Columbia University Press, 1937), pp. 38-39, 130-31.

28. A monograph on the subject is presently being prepared by the author.

29. No new translation of *Il Cortegiano* into English was printed, and no reprint of an earlier translation was issued between 1612 and 1700 (actually, 1713).



(which the squeamish George Pettie left untranslated in 1581 because "it containeth much trifling matter in it") describes a banquet in which the speakers are ten gentlemen and ladies of Casale, all his relatives or close friends: Vespasiano Gonzaga, Giovanni Giacomo Bottazzo, Caterina Sacca del Ponte (aunt to Guazzo's wife), Ercole Visconte, Giovanna Bobba, Lelia Sangiorgio, Francesca (Guazzo's wife), Giovanni Cane, Guglielmo Cavagliate, and Bernardino Bobba. Scattered throughout the book, it will be recalled, are various poems or remarks in praise of still other Casalese ladies; and there is occasional reference to members and doings of the *Illustrati*. By such innocent devices Guazzo managed here and elsewhere to compliment his neighbors and preserve their memories, as he hoped, for posterity. It was the way to win friends and influence people;<sup>30</sup> and it is small wonder that his contemporaries invariably refer to him as the "gentle" and the "learned" Guazzo.

Of Guazzo's other writings,<sup>31</sup> next in importance to the *Civil conversazione* is the volume of *Dialoghi piacevoli* (1586), which some Italian critics affect to find more savorsome than the *Civil conversazione*.<sup>32</sup> A collection of twelve rather formal dialogues on such standard topics as honor, arms and letters, emblems and *imprese*, the relative merits of Latin and Tuscan poetry, the worth of women,<sup>33</sup> the knowledge of oneself, and death, the *Dialoghi* likewise had a considerable European vogue. There exist eight Italian editions between 1586 and 1610; and although the work in its entirety does not appear to have been translated into any other tongue, nine<sup>34</sup> selected dialogues were translated into German between 1616 and 1625, and one—the dialogue on *imprese*—was translated into Spanish. The only one of the *Dialoghi* to be reprinted in modern times, and that so long ago as the middle of last century, is the dialogue "Dell' Honor delle donne."<sup>35</sup> John Florio is witness to the English use of Guazzo's dialogues

30. Ghilini's statement, *Teatro d'huomini letterati* (Venetia, 1647), II, 230, may be recalled in this connection: "... hebbe costumi amabilissimi, co'i quali s'acquistaua l'animo di quelli, che seco trattauano."

31. Some of which are apparently no longer extant. Guazzo mentions, for instance (*Lettere*, ed. 1599, p. 257), as being already written in 1586, and ready to be seen, or heard, a comedy and an oration. That he had long been interested in the drama we may assume from his having taken part in Italian plays at the French court in 1555. Cf. Bonfigli, *op. cit.*, p. 9.

32. Canna, for instance, in his *Scritti letterarii*, p. 255, declares that "questi dialoghi sono forse l'opera più amena a leggere di Stefano Guazzo." Baretti, on the other hand, in his *Italian Library* (London: A. Millar, 1757), p. 39, having included both works in his list of "the Most Valuable Authors of Italy," adds: "The two above books of Guazzo are not very pleasing to me, because his stile and language are much neglected, as I have already observed."

33. William Boulting, *Woman in Italy* (London: Methuen, 1910), p. 290, notes as exceptional for his age Guazzo's unconventionally charitable attitude toward women.

34. All translated by Melchior Wiesaeus: (1) *GNOTHI SEAUTON. Das ist Ein Gespräch, von Erkenntnuss Seiner selbst* (Mulhausen: Joh. Stangen, 1616); (2) *EUTHANASIA. Das ist: Ein . . . trostliches Gespräch, wie man nemlich Christlich leben, und seliglich sterben solle* (Leipzig, 1625); and (3) *Sieben auserlesene und lustige Politische Dialogi oder Gespräche* (Leipzig: Abr. Lamberg, 1625).

35. In *Mescolanza d'amore*, ed. Carlo Téoli (Milano: G. Daelli, 1863).

as texts for learners of Italian,<sup>36</sup> as indeed they must also have been used elsewhere. Of the interlocutors in this work dedicated to Guazzo's former master, Lodovico Gonzaga, the most notable are Guazzo's brother William, Francesco Pugiella, Gherardo Borgogni, Annibale Magnocavalli, and Lodovico Gonzaga himself. In one dialogue, the eighth, "Della Voce Fedeltà," Guazzo, with a prescience which he must later have found most amusing, assigns the arguments to two unnamed academicians, *Affidato* and *Illustrato*. He was thus able, after his admission to the Pavian academy of the *Affidati* in 1590, to listen to himself as Casalese *Illustrato* argue with himself as Pavian *Affidato*. The judicious serenity of his mind could be represented in no more suitable manner.

Guazzo's next published work was a volume of his own collected *Lettere*, published by the Venetian printer Barezzo Barezzi in 1590 and subsequently enlarged. Of Barezzi's authorized text there are eight editions, running down to 1614,<sup>37</sup> and there exist two others, a Torinese edition of 1591 and a Venetian edition of 1600, both apparently pirated. Although some twenty-five of the *Lettere* were reprinted by Bartolommeo Zucchi<sup>38</sup> two years after Guazzo's death, there has been no full reprint since the seventeenth century, and, so far as I know, no translation. Nevertheless, these letters were enormously admired as models of the epistolary art, and one of them, a description of Casale,<sup>39</sup> has continued to be anthologized down to our own times. They constitute a fundamental document for Guazzo's biography and a valuable aid to the literary and social historians of the period. Besides the members of his own family, the scattering of noblemen great and small, local and foreign, the inevitable representatives of the clergy, high and low, and the surprisingly large number of women, his most interesting correspondents are Giovanni Ambrogio Figino,<sup>40</sup> Angelo

36. Florio's *Second Frutes* (London: T. Woodcock, 1591), sig. a4 verso; and *A Worlde of Wordes* (London, 1598), sigs. a3 verso-a4 recto.

37. Although the title-page of the 1614 volume calls it "questa nostra settima impressione," it is actually the eighth. Barezzi's series, for which I have personally made collations, runs 1590, 1592, 1596, 1599, 1603, 1606, 1611, 1614.

38. Bartolommeo Zucchi, *Scelta di lettere di diversi eccellentiss. scrittori* (Venetia: Campagnia Minima, 1595).

39. It has been reprinted in Bartolommeo Gamba, *Lettere descrittive scelte da celebri Italiani* (Venezia: P. Bernardi, 1813), pp. 85-87; in Cesare Servadio, *Scelta di lettere famigliari degli autori più celebri* (Firenze, 1836), pp. 121-22; and in K. T. Butler, *'The Gentlest Art' in Renaissance Italy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1954), p. 187. And I suspect that it is this letter of Guazzo's which also figures in two school-books that I have not seen: Francesco Colandri's *Antologia di prose italiane* (Lugano: G. Ruggia e Comp., 1838) and the *Antologia, o libro di lettere pe' giovanetti della III e IV classe grammaticale* (Cremona: C. Manini, 1840).

40. Gregorio Comanini's *Il Figino, ovvero del fine della pittura* (Mantova: Francesco Osanna, 1591), an important aesthetic and critical treatise in dialogue form, has as interlocutors Ascanio Martinengo, Giovanni Ambrogio Figino, and "il Sig. Stefano Guazzo; del cui stile cauaglieresco, et della cui nobilissima letteratura, hormai non viue alcuno di quà dall' alpi, ouero ancora di là per lungo tratto di miglia, che non sia pienamente informato, per lo saggio datone co' suoi non men dotti, che piaceuoli scritti, i quali hà con tanta felicità partorito alla luce per giouamento de gli huomini" (p. 2).

Ingegneri, Annibale Guasco, Diomede Borghesi, Francesco Pugiella, Gherardo Borgogni,<sup>41</sup> Orazio Navazzotti,<sup>42</sup> Maffeo Venieri, Silvio Calandra, Scipione Bargagli, Barezzio Barezzi, and Girolamo Casone, all literary and artistic lights of the period.

Such accounts of Guazzo's work as do exist seldom consider his poetry. But in fact he produced a considerable number of not altogether negligible poems in both Latin and Italian, though their failure to appear in any "collected" form has deprived him of the reputation he might otherwise have enjoyed. Most of his poems were issued as contributions to one or another of the miscellanies popular in his day.<sup>43</sup> Only in two instances do any sizable groups of his poems appear together in a single volume: once in a semi-independent form as the second part to the *Nuova Scelta di rime del Sig. Gherardo Borgogni* (Bergamo, 1592), where the Guazzian portion carries a separate title-page and separate pagination; and again, after his death, in the miscellany edited by Borgogni, the *Rime di diversi illustri poeti de' nostri tempi* (Venice, 1599). In this latter volume it is instructive to note the company Guazzo keeps and to compare the number of contributions. Borgogni, the not very modest editor, contributes 106 poems; Camillo Camilli, six; Francesco Pugiella, twenty-four; Girolamo Casone, sixty; Orazio Navazzotti, ten; Torquato Tasso, seven; Silvio Calandra, twenty-two; and Guazzo, thirty-four. Most remarkable of Guazzo's contributions is the fine *canzone*, "Genova mia," occasionally anthologized even in modern times;<sup>44</sup> and it should be noted that many of his poems, here as elsewhere, are addressed to women. It should perhaps also be noted that so many of the poems in the volume are dedicated to, or celebrate the merits of, the Mantuan painter Figino that the work might almost be considered a tribute to him.

Guazzo's last book was issued posthumously at Genoa in 1595. This was *La Ghirlanda della Contessa Angela Bianca Beccaria*, designed in praise of his latest patroness, a work for which Guazzo solicited madrigals from a

41. Borgogni, besides editing some of Guazzo's poetry, also wrote a moving sonnet on his death; cf. G. Borgogni, *Le Muse toscane di diversi nobilissimi ingegni* (Bergamo: Comin Ventura, 1594), Seconda Parte, p. 20b. Among the contributors to this second part are Angelo Grillo, Borgogni, Gregorio Comanini, Orazio Navazzotti, Isabella Andreini, Silvio Calandra, and Torquato Tasso—Guazzo's own "circle," in short.

42. The most distinguished Casalese poet of his day and author, among other works, of *Le Cento Donne di Casale in Monferrato* (Pavia: Girolamo Bartoli, n.d.). Among the complimentary poems of this volume, which Navazzotti, imitating a similar performance by the Parmigiano Muzio Manfredi, dedicates to the ladies of Casale, is one (p. 77) addressed to Olimpia Curioni, Guazzo's daughter.

43. Besides his contributions to the volumes named in the text and to the First Part of the *Muse toscane*, named above (footnote 41), Guazzo had poems in the *Scelta di rime di diversi moderni autori non più stampate* (Genova: eredi di Geronimo Bartoli, 1591); in *Rime di diversi autori . . . al generoso S. Antonio Maria Spelta* (Pavia: eredi di Jeronimo Bartoli, 1593); and in the *Gioie poetiche del Sig. Geronimo Casone, e d'altri celebri poeti de' nostri tempi* (Venezia: G. Somasco, 1593).

44. E.g., by Angelo Mazzoleni, *Rime oneste de' migliori poeti antichi e moderni*, 3rd ed. (Bassano, 1777), II, 107-10; and in *Parnaso italiano* (Venezia: G. Antonelli, 1851), Vol. XII, cols. 2290-2292.

wide circle of his literary acquaintances and for which, within a dialogue framework containing some of his best writing, he himself supplied a running prose commentary. The work was never reprinted; yet it was not without effect in its time, being the direct model of the *Ghirlanda* for Zenobia Beccaria, published at Pavia in the following year; for Father Corbellini's *Ghirlanda di Maria*, also published at Pavia, in 1598; and for the Marquis de Montausier's much more celebrated *Guirlande de Julie* of the next century.<sup>45</sup> Like all the rest of Guazzo's work, the *Ghirlanda* is richly garnished with proverbs, *facezie*, and quotations from classical and more recent literature. The list of those who contributed *canzoni* includes Francesco Pugiella, Gherardo Borgogni, Scipione Bargagli, Angelo Grillo, Gregorio Comanini, Orazio Navazzotti, Annibale Guasco, Girolamo Casone, and Ansaldo Cebà. Besides being dedicated to Guazzo's beloved daughter Olimpia, the *Ghirlanda* preserved something of the family touch through contributions by Guazzo's son-in-law<sup>46</sup>, Orazio Curioni, and by his son, Giovan Antonio.

No detailed examination can here be made of the many other Italian books which during Guazzo's lifetime or shortly thereafter are heavily indebted to him for inspiration, or contain contributions by him, or explicitly praise him, or reprint notable segments of his work. But the list is long enough to suggest, emphatically, that the prophet was not without honor in his own country and day.<sup>46</sup> His reception abroad, as has been intimated, was even more startling.

Long ago, Professor Thomas Frederick Crane, the expert historian of Italian social customs, described the *Civil conversazione* as "perhaps the most complete picture of Italian society in the sixteenth century."<sup>47</sup> More recently, Maurice Magendie, in his magisterial *Politesse mondaine*,<sup>48</sup> writing the history of French manners in the Grand Age, places Guazzo's book squarely beside Castiglione's as a prime agent in the formation of *l'honnête homme*. And as recently as 1954 an anthology of Italian letters compiled by the late Miss K. T. Butler, charmingly entitled *The Gentlest Art*, includes a handful of letters written by Guazzo. It is to be hoped that these isolated examples may soon be followed by more general recognition of Guazzo's rightful place in literary history.

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45. MS., 1641. The *Guirlande* is printed as an appendix to Ch.-L. Livet, *Précieux et précieuses*, 3rd ed. (Paris, 1897), pp. 381-442.

46. Some representative titles: Bernardo Trotto, *Dialoghi del matrimonio e vita vedovile* (1583); Bernardino Baldi, *Versi e prose* (1590); Ciro Spontone, *La Corona del principe* (1590); Giacomo Rovighioni, *Orationi et discorsi* (1595); Gherardo Borgogni, *La Fonte del diporto* (1598); Orazio Lombardelli, *I Fonti toscani* (1598); Lucrezia Marinella, *La Nobiltà, et l'eccellenza delle donne* (1601); Annibale Guasco, *Lettere* (1603); Giovanni Soranzo, *L'Idea del cavaliere* (1609); Ercole Tasso, *Della Realtà e perfezion dell'impresa* (1612); Lodovico Zuccolo, *Discorsi* (1623); Diodato Solera, *La Nobile Conversazione* (1633).

47. *Italian Social Customs*, p. 386.

48. M. Magendie, *La Politesse mondaine*, 2 vols. (Paris: Alcan, 1925).

## ANÁLISIS DE UN ROMANCE DE GÓNGORA

By Francisco García Lorca

Los rayos le cuenta al Sol  
con un peine de marfil  
la bella Jacinta, un día  
que por mi dicha la vi  
*en la verde orilla  
de Guadalquivir.*

La mano oscurece el peine;  
mas ¿qué mucho? si el abril  
la vió oscurecer los lilios  
que blancos suelen salir  
*en la verde orilla  
de Guadalquivir.*

Los pájaros la saludan,  
porque piensan (y es así),  
que el Sol que sale en Oriente  
vuelve otra vez a salir  
*en la verde orilla  
de Guadalquivir.*

Por solo un cabello el Sol  
de sus rayos diera mil,  
solicitando invidioso  
el que se quedaba allí  
*en la verde orilla  
de Guadalquivir.*

ESTE precioso romance con estribillo aparece fechado en la edición Foulché en 1580, año de las primeras composiciones del poeta. Es un ejemplo expresivo de cómo Góngora desde sus comienzos, caso análogo a Quevedo, extrema los procedimientos poéticos. La materia artística en estas composiciones tempranas aparece sometida a una compleja elaboración, en su aparente sencillez, ya sean composiciones líricas, en sentido estricto, de tono ironizante o manifiestamente satíricas. Sería bastante la primera estrofa de este poemilla para demostrar esta afirmación. Digo la primera estrofa, porque en el manuscrito Chacón el poema va acompañado de la nota siguiente: "Sólo este primer cuartete y la vuelta es suyo; pero siguióle tan bien quien lo continuó, que se pone aquí con esta advertencia". Pero, sin duda, Chacón se queda corto; el continuador no "lo siguió tan bien", sino que lo siguió prodigiosamente. Pues, si admitimos la mano de un continuador, sería este poemilla muestra de cómo un poeta puede apropiarse el modo de otro, ya que en él se continúan con fidelidad impresionante el

espíritu y los procedimientos poéticos que presiden la primera estrofa, obteniendo así una unidad poética de inusitado rigor.

Hay otras versiones del mismo poema, pero yo sólo me atengo a ésta, que es la que pasa a la edición Foulché desde el famoso manuscrito Chacón.

Dice el primer verso del poema:

Los rayos le cuenta al Sol . . .

o sea, una serie de sustituciones metafóricas completas: *contar* por *peinar*, *rayos* por *cabellos*, *Sol* por *Jacinta*; que no es rubia como el Sol, sino el Sol mismo. Prescindiendo de cómo este mecanismo metafórico pueda estar ya en la poesía anterior, y quizá la misma imagen, no es dudoso que la acumulación de tres sustituciones totales en un versillo octosílabo es ya de por sí significativa. En cierto modo anuncia una tendencia hacia la proliferación de la imagen que Dámaso Alonso anotaba como típica del lenguaje poético de Góngora. Si *Jacinta* es el Sol mismo, los cabellos se convierten en rayos, quizá se trata de una imagen a contraluz, y el acto embellecedor de peinar se resuelve en el inútil y caprichoso de contar rayos luminosos. Es cierto que aquí la imagen no se produce al modo lento y discursivo, sino al integrador y rápido; pero este modo no ha de ser tampoco ajeno al lenguaje poético de Góngora. Y no deja de ser curioso que esta triple sustitución, que implica una evolución última del mecanismo de la imagen, aparezca en una de las primeras metáforas conocidas del poeta.

#### ALITERACIONES Y ASONANCIAS

Toda la estrofa inicial está recorrida por un marcadísimo predominio de la *i*. Aparte erigirse sobre esta vocal la asonancia del poema con las palabras *marfil*, *vi*, *Guadalquivir* (esta última, final de la serie, con terminación en *i* reiterada), notemos que, con la excepción del primer verso, todos los restantes, más el estribillo, tienen su palabra final acentuada en *i*: *marfil*, *día*, *vi*, *orilla*, *Guadalquivir*. Otras palabras con acento en la misma vocal establecen una serie de siete sílabas acentuadas en *i* con valor rítmico (seis acentos para las demás vocales: cuatro sílabas con acento en *e*, una en *a*, una en *o*).

El juego vocálico es aún más complejo, pues en los dos últimos versos de la estrofa y el primero del estribillo se establece una asonancia en *i-a* muy marcada entre las voces *Jacinta*, *día*, *dicha*, y *orilla*.

... la bella *Jacinta* un *día*  
que por mi *dicha* la *vi*  
en la verde *orilla*  
de Guadalquivir.

La reiterada aliteración de la *i* hace que recorra toda la estrofa un delgado y suelto sonido como si hubiera en ello una alusión al cabello mismo, a las púas o dientes del peine. En esta reiteración se independiza el primer



verso sin ninguna *i*: "Los rayos le cuenta al Sol". Verso en que la palabra *Sol*, remate de una serie vocálica más abierta, se redondea y suaviza frente a la aguda sensación cristalina del resto. Hay sólo cinco *oes* en la estrofa, de las cuales, cuatro se acumulan en el primer verso y arranque del segundo.

Los rayos le cuenta al Sol  
con un peine . . .

La voz *peine*, con su *i* diptongada, no computada en el recuento anterior, inicia suavemente la reiterada serie vocálica.

Es también de notar la aliteración de los sonidos *l*, *ll*, (además de los artículos y pronombres *los*, *le*, *al*, *la*, *la*, *la*) creada por los términos *Sol*, *marfil*, *bella*, *orilla*, *Guadalquivir*, que parecen también contribuir de algún modo a la delgada y suelta impresión sonora a que nos referíamos.

Todas estas circunstancias formales hacen de la primera estrofa y estribillo un perfecto arranque de poema. Es extraño que con tal comienzo no se sintiera movido el poeta a proseguirlo.

La continuación es tan perfecta que cuesta trabajo pensar que no sea de Góngora. A tal punto las estrofas añadidas se posesionan del modo poético que la primera estrofa crea y a tal punto prolongan los recursos formales sentados en la estrofilia de arranque.

La segunda estrofa, en efecto, recoge la aliteración en *i* de la estrofa inicial. Es cierto que con sólo conservar la asonancia regular de la estrofa y el estribillo, muy evidente por ser rima aguda, se obtendría el efecto deseado. Pero da la casualidad, que los finales de los versos pares son las palabras *peine* y *lilios*, con lo que se establece una línea continua de seis versos con acento final en *i* o *ei*, en el primer verso: *peine*, *abril*, *lilios*, *salir*, *orilla*, *Guadalquivir*. Como en la estrofa anterior, es la palabra *peine* la que introduce la reiterada serie silábica.

Advertíamos en la estrofa inicial una aliteración marcada de sonidos palatales. Añado ahora que el predominio de este sonido crece en la estrofa segunda. En la serie de voces finales anteriormente reseñada, toda ella, con la excepción de la palabra *peine*, conlleva el sonido *l*: la palabra *abril*, va precedida de artículo, *el abril*; igualmente la palabra *lilios*, *los lilios*; la voz *salir* está inscrita en el verso siguiente, con una excepcionalmente armónica sucesión del sonido *l*:

que blancos suelen salir.

Aliteración que el estribillo refuerza y prolonga con gracia insuperable.

En la escala de frecuencia de los fonemas españoles establecida por don Tomás Navarro<sup>1</sup> figuran la *l* y *ll* con una frecuencia de 6:06 por ciento. En esta estrofa la frecuencia de dichos fonemas es de 13:81. En la primera de 11:34, en la tercera de 11:00, en la cuarta de 12:00. Pero no es tanto el cómputo, meramente proporcional, del sonido lo que califica poéticamente

1. *Estudios de fonología española*, Syracuse University Press, 1946.

a estas aliteraciones, sino su emplazamiento eminente en los versos en que figuran y cómo se insertan en correlaciones armónicas con otros sonidos también dominantes para componer una trama sonora de extraordinaria unidad. Así la asociación de *l* o *ll* y la *i*: *marfil, orilla, abril, salir, mil, allí, o la*, en esta constelación sonora, deliciosa voz *lilios*, cima de un sistema de resonancias sonoras. O bien, cómo la leve aliteración inicial *o l* del primer verso del poema:

*Los rayos le cuenta al Sol*

se intensifica en el verso inicial de la última estrofa:

*Por solo un cabello el sol*

con la correlación *solo, sol*.

Ya en la estrofa inicial era perceptible una delicada asonancia (aparte la reseñada en *ía*) entre las voces *peine* y *verde*, que en la segunda estrofa se intensifica al reiterar la palabra *peine* en el primer verso:

La mano obscurece el peine

Pero nótese que la voz *obscurece* es, a su vez, asonante con *peine*. En el verso cuarto de esta segunda estrofa aparece la voz *suelen*, reforzada inmediatamente en el primer verso del estribillo con la voz *verde*. Lo que establece un juego de asonancias delicadamente efectivo, que, insito en la estrofa inicial, se desarrolla en la segunda:

La mano obscurece el peine;  
mas qué mucho? si el abril  
la vió obscurecer los lilios  
que blancos *suelen* salir  
en la *verde* orilla  
de Guadalquivir.

Dicha asonancia se prolonga en los dos versos finales de la estrofa siguiente o tercera:

... que el Sol que sale en *Oriente*  
*vuelve* otra vez a salir  
en la *verde* orilla  
de Guadalquivir.

Asonancia que se extingue en la estrofa final. Sólo la voz *verde* del estribillo la revive como un eco lejano.

En el verso inicial del poema "Los rayos le cuenta al Sol", la mano está poéticamente implícita en la imagen creada (lo que intensifica el carácter sintético de la triple sustitución metafórica). Es uno de los aciertos del poema destacar la representación de esa mano en el primer verso de la

segunda estrofa. Nótese con cuánta eficacia poética está destacada la ideal blancura de la *mano*, pero no se olvide cómo contribuye al efecto poético su asonancia con la voz *blancos* del cuarto verso. Diga el lector la segunda estrofa atento a esa nueva asonancia y la verá destacarse con todo su delicado valor expresivo. Y antes de que su vibración se haya extinguido, reaparece en el primer verso de la estrofa siguiente:

Los pájaros la saludan . . .

Notemos ahora cómo el primer verso de las tres primeras estrofas conllevan la misma asonancia en *ao*.

Los rayos le cuenta al Sol  
la *mano* obscurece el peine  
Los pájaros la saludan

En la estrofa final dicha asonancia se retrasa al verso segundo:

de sus rayos diera mil,

pero se refuerza en el verso siguiente:

solicitando invidioso . . .

No están tan distanciados los versos en el breve poemilla como para suponer que las asonancias establecidas no entran en ese sistema de sonidos armónicos que lo recorre todo. Es de notar en el caso de esta asonancia que está emplazada armónicamente: a igual altura en los tres primeros versos, si no queremos considerar excepción que en la tercera estrofa se erija sobre palabra esdrújula, *pájaros*. En cambio, en la segunda estrofa, que se inicia con el verso,

La *mano* obscurece el peine

el cuarto verso es,

que *blancos* suelen salir

donde la asonancia reaparece en el mismo emplazamiento. En la estrofa final la asonancia se retrasa en un verso y en una sílaba: en vez de estar en sílabas segunda y tercera está ("de sus rayos diera mil") en la tercera y cuarta. Así como el verso siguiente ("solicitando invidioso") la asonancia se retrasa una sílaba más, cuarta y quinta, cerrando así la serie.

En la estrofa tercera, a más de las circunstancias armónicas ya observadas, vamos a tratar ahora de una nueva y muy marcada. Me refiero a la aliteración del sonido *s* que se acumula, principalmente, en los tres versos primeros:

Los pájaros la saludan,  
porque piensan (y es así),  
que el Sol que sale en Oriente . . .

Diga el lector el verso atento a esa marcada reiteración y la verá destacarse con todo su valor expresivo. La aliteración se hace más evidente por la circunstancia de estar cuatro de las ocho *eses* computables en sílabas acentuadas con valor rítmico: *es, así, sol, sale*. En realidad nos encontramos con un emplazamiento progresivo: las cuatro *eses* emplazadas en sílabas acentuadas son las cuatro últimas. La aliteración se introduce suavemente con dos *eses* en posición final; *los pájaros*: el resto de las *eses*, iniciales de sílaba, tiene mucho más relieve. Incluso la *s* final de *es* se articula con la *a* inicial de la palabra siguiente, vigorizándose: "y es así". Se diría que suena en la estrofa un trinar de pájaros que saludan a esa poética y fingida aurora. El verso final, con una sola *s*, extingue delicadamente la serie.

Es importante consignar en el proceso de enlace de las estrofas, cómo esta aliteración viene preparada desde la estrofa anterior, con frecuencia del fonema *s* también superior a la normal. Véanse los dos últimos versos:

... la vió obscurecer los lílios  
que blancos suelen salir.

Este último verso citado antes como ejemplo de aliteración de la *l*, viene ahora aducido como ejemplo de aliteración de la *s*. Y por eso dijimos antes que la voz *lílios*, con su sonido *s* y el reiterado de *l* e *i* está situada en un ápice de la trama sonora.

En la tercera estrofa, en la que acabamos de señalar la expresiva aliteración de la *s*, podría señalarse una asonancia, a más de las reseñadas, de sonidos puros que la espontánea articulación del lenguaje produce. *Oriente, vuelve, verde* son asonancias de significado, entre palabras. Pero desde el punto de vista de los sonidos engendrados en la articulación, hay una asonancia posible entre *piensan* y *vez a*; ya que la articulación del último verso podría ser ésta:

... porque *piensan* (y es así),  
que el Sol que sale en Oriente  
vuelvo traveza salir

El lector asimila en el campo de la conciencia oyente la rima regular del verso (en este caso la asonancia final en *i*), pero en otro plano menos consciente, inconsciente quizá, absorbe otras correlaciones de sonido que, concurrentes al significado o fuera de él, engendra la articulación. Correlaciones que pueden ser de muy diverso tipo. Puede ocurrir, y de hecho ocurre, que las asonancias de articulación militen en contra de las asonancias de significado; es decir, que unas y otras puedan ser simultáneamente percibidas, pero desde planos diferentes. Una determinada intención en la lectura puede subrayar o anular correlaciones, y como quiera que las posibilidades articulatorias son, o pueden ser, diversas, pueden dichas correlaciones ingresar o no (de manera siempre más o menos larvada) en el complejo indefinible de la sensibilidad oyente. Son dichas correspondencias de

sonido, aliteraciones, asonancias armónicas no enteramente percibidas, lo que en gran parte determina esa sensación de musicalidad, no imputable a la rima normal, o de enlazada fluencia sonora a que muchas veces se alude cuando se habla de la "música interior", del "paladeo" de un verso u otras expresiones análogas.

Aunque en este poemilla la asonancia de articulación reseñada no tenga apenas relieve, la he aludido con la intención de dejar planteado el problema. Añadiré que esta asonancia en *ea* viene reforzada en el segundo verso de la estrofa siguiente:

de sus rayos *diera* mil,

En la última estrofa se atenúa el juego de asonancias internas. Ya hemos señalado la existente entre los términos *rayos* y *solicitando*. Añadamos ahora la existente entre los términos *solo* e *invidioso*:

Por *solo* un cabello el Sol  
de sus *rayos* *diera* mil  
*solicitando invidioso*  
el que se quedaba allí

Estas asonancias, sumadas a la regular, enriquecen el sistema de correspondencias armónicas de la estrofa.

#### EL MOVIMIENTO RÍTMICO

Pero quizá lo que más sorprende, cuando consideramos la unidad del poema, es su movimiento rítmico; cómo los ritmos creados en la primera estrofa se continúan y reiteran en el resto de las estrofas, con leves variantes.

Notábamos antes que el verso inicial de las tres primeras estrofas conlleva la misma asonancia (*rayos, mano, pájaros*) a igual altura del verso, en emplazamiento simétrico. Véase ahora como este orden armónico, viene a ser subrayado por un orden rítmico.

Vemos, en efecto, que esos tres versos llevan acento rítmico inicial en la segunda sílaba y acento medial en la quinta (atenuado en el verso de la tercera estrofa), aparte el obligado en séptima. Añadamos que el verso inicial de la cuarta estrofa conlleva los mismos acentos. Los cuatro versos iniciales de las cuatro estrofas ingresan, pues, en el siguiente esquema:

- 2 - - 2 - 2 -

Siguiendo la clasificación adoptada por don Tomás Navarro<sup>2</sup> para los versos octosílabos, se trata de un verso mixto de dácilo y troqueo.

Los pájaros la saludan . . .

tiene una consideración dudosa, pues la ausencia de acento prosódico entre las sílabas segunda y séptima permite una apoyatura rítmica, leve, en la

2. "El octosílabo y sus modalidades," *Homenaje a Arthur M. Huntington. Estudios Hispánicos*, Wellesley, 1952.

sílaba *la*, o en la sílaba final de *pájaros*: y quizá esta versión sea, rítmicamente, la preferente. En todo caso se obtiene un verso de tipo mixto, sea de troqueo y dáctilo (mixto a), o de dáctilo y troqueo (mixto b). Y en todo caso también los dos acentos básicos continúan siendo el segundo y séptimo, como los básicos del trocaico octosílabo son el tercero y séptimo.

Pero hay que tener en cuenta que el verso segundo de las cuatro estrofas es manifiestamente trocaico, con este esquema básico:

- - - - -

Sobre dicho esquema hay unas variaciones secundarias. El segundo verso de las estrofas primera y segunda lleva un acento prosódico en la segunda sílaba:

con un peine de marfil  
mas *qué* mucho? si el abril

Cuyo esquema particularizado sería el siguiente:

- - - - -

Al paso que el verso segundo de las estrofas tercera y cuarta, llevan, además del acento básico en tercera sílaba, un acento marcado en la sílaba quinta:

porque piensan (y es así)  
de sus rayos *diera* mil

Con el siguiente esquema pormenorizado, en ambos casos:

- - - - -

De modo que las diferencias observan también un orden.

Entre los dos versos se establece una asonancia entre las palabras *diera* y *piensan*. Pero el emplazamiento armónico de las vocales de ambos versos es mucho más complejo. Nótese, en efecto, cómo estos dos versos, con idéntico esquema rítmico, no son sólo asonantes en la rima principal: *así*, *mil*, ni en la secundaria, *piensan*, *diera*: sino que las tres sílabas finales tienen igual esquema vocálico: ies-a-si, die-ra mil. Es decir; a las asonancias de significado, viene a añadirse otra de articulación, que refuerza la anteriormente establecida en el verso final de la tercera estrofa:

vuelve otra *vez* a salir

El emplazamiento de las relaciones vocálicas señaladas en los tres versos es el siguiente, representando las sílabas rítmicas y señalando las asonancias:

por-que-pien-san-ies-a-si  
vuel-veo-tra-vez-a-sa-lir  
de-sus-ra-yos-die-ra-mil

La primera asonancia del primer verso se sitúa en las sílabas tercera y cuarta, la del segundo verso en sílabas cuarta y quinta; la del tercero en quinta y sexta, en emplazamiento que podríamos llamar progresivo, con un



paralelismo en las tres sílabas finales en los versos primero y tercero, que veníamos comparando.

No es esta ocasión de discurrir acerca de la presunta función poética de estas relaciones armónicas y su asimilación por la sensibilidad fruenta. Limitémonos a señalar su evidente presencia de hecho, que no puede ser, como tal hecho, ignorada. Subrayemos cómo un verdadero sistema de correlaciones vocálicas, en emplazamientos sorprendentemente regulares, se engarza en un sistema de correlaciones rítmicas.

Prosigamos con la ordenación rítmica del poema. Habíamos observado que los dos primeros versos de las cuatro estrofas obedecían al mismo esquema rítmico. Sólo esto, la identidad de los dos versos de arranque en cuatro estrofas consecutivas, es un hecho rítmico de carácter excepcional. La continuidad rítmica, con leves variantes, se prolonga aún más. El tercer verso de la primera estrofa,

la bella Jacinta un día

es, de nuevo, un verso mixto con el siguiente esquema:

- - - - -

que el tercer verso de la segunda estrofa reitera:

la vió obscurecer los lilios

A partir de este punto la correlación rítmica se atenúa, pues el tercer verso de la tercera estrofa,

que el Sol que sale en Oriente,

no obstante ser también un octosílabo mixto, es de distinto tipo, pues en lugar de llevar su acento intermedio en la quinta sílaba, como los dos anteriores, lo adelanta a la cuarta, con el siguiente esquema:

- - - - -

Variante que no impide la coincidencia de acento en la segunda sílaba. El tercer verso atenúa la correlación:

Solicitando invidioso,

Por tratarse de un verso con el primer acento prosódico retardado a cuarta sílaba, podemos dar valor rítmico a la primera sílaba:

- - - - -

con lo que obtenemos un verso dactílico, en versión acelerada y viva, o podemos considerar la segunda sílaba con valor rítmico:

- - - - -

con lo que obtenemos un verso mixto, de naturaleza análoga al tercero de la estrofa anterior, en versión lenta, pausada, que me parece preferente, por su significado, porque apoya la aliteración de las cinco *tes* del verso, porque valoriza la sinalefa y el diptongo, porque introduce rítmicamente el moroso

verso, último de la estrofa, de ritmo trocaico, con acento retardado a quinta sílaba:

el que se quedaba allí.

Hemos obtenido, pues, hasta ahora, una continuidad rítmica de sorprendente rigor en los tres versos primeros de las cuatro estrofas del poemilla. Hemos anotado también leves variantes, versos de esquema rítmico ambivalente, delicadamente fluctuantes, pero es también de presumir en su propia naturaleza una función poética que suaviza el rigor de una verdadera estructura rítmica, constantemente reforzada por la reiteración del estribillo.

Precisamente el verso cuarto, que viene a ser como el desenlace de las estrofas, es donde notamos una mayor diversidad, sin que la correspondencia llegue a extinguirse. El verso final de la primera estrofa,

que por mi dicha la vi.

es de naturaleza ambivalente. Podemos atribuir a la primera sílaba valor rítmico, con lo que obtenemos un verso dactílico. En este caso el verso obtenido tiene el mismo esquema que el verso cuarto de la tercera estrofa:

vuelve otra vez a salir.

Si, por el contrario, acentuamos levemente la segunda sílaba obtenemos un verso mixto, análogo al cuarto de la estrofa segunda:

que blancos suelen salir.

Esta versión, más de acuerdo con el esquema del poema, me parece, rítmicamente, la más plausible.

El verso cuarto de la estrofa última, desenlace del poema, se independiza de este esquema, pues es un verso de carácter trocaico, sin equivalente en las estrofas anteriores, pero tiene su explicación rigurosa en el esquema peculiar de la estrofa de cabo, como más adelante veremos.

Para representar gráficamente el emplazamiento de los acentos y sus mutuas correspondencias, yo he ideado el siguiente procedimiento. En un papel cuadriculado represento dada una de las sílabas rítmicas con un cuadrado, con lo que, en horizontal, se obtiene una continuidad de cuadrados igual en número a las sílabas del verso. Ocho en este caso. Marco con un punto las sílabas rítmicamente acentuadas, y, para obtener la proporción de sus emplazamientos relativos, uno con línea las sílabas acentuadas de un verso con la sílaba o sílabas correspondientes del verso siguiente. Ello nos da, gráficamente expresada, la ordenación rítmica de la estrofa.

Si aplicamos este procedimiento al poema que estudiamos se obtiene el gráfico, sorprendentemente riguroso, reproducido en la figura 1. Debo decir que el verso segundo de las cuatro estrofas lleva acento marcado en todas

las sílabas impares para mejor representar su ritmo alterno. Se obtienen en vertical tres cuerpos rítmicos, el último de los cuales representa el obligado acento en séptima sílaba. El estribillo está también representado.

Para darse cuenta de la insólita armonía rítmica ínsita en el poema, de su continuidad y rigor, me parece oportuno allegar los siguientes datos. El poema en cuestión se organiza, como se ha visto, en estrofas de cuatro versos según la estructura del romance culto. Reduciendo los tipos del octosílabo a cuatro; trocaico, dactílico, mixto a y mixto b, parecería, a primera vista, que la base estrófica de cuatro versos, con sólo cuatro tipos de verso a conjugar, daría un reducido número de ordenaciones rítmicas. Pero la realidad es que un simple cálculo nos muestra que con la base estrófica de cuatro versos se pueden obtener 256 combinaciones rítmicas. Frente a este hecho la regularidad del esquema gráfico obtenido es, sencillamente, desconcertante. La considero *única*, en el sentido de su perfecta regularidad, ya que la fisonomía rítmica de todo poema es siempre única en el sentido de irrepetible.

Yo he sometido a estudio las ordenaciones rítmicas del más largo romance de Góngora; me refiero al de *Píramo y Tisbe*, muy posterior, (1618), cuyo carácter es la riqueza y variedad de sus ritmos. Tiene dicho romance 126 estrofas en las que se conjugan 97 ordenaciones rítmicas diferentes. Sólo en

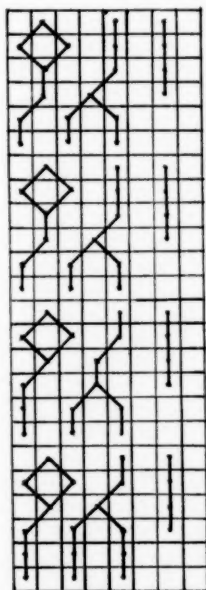


Fig. 1

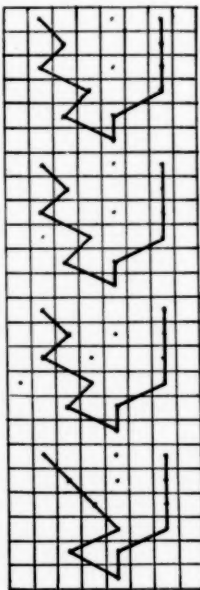


Fig. 2

un caso encontramos dos estrofas consecutivas con el mismo ritmo. El rombo inicial de la figura 1, que en el poemilla se reitera cuatro veces, aparece solamente tres veces, a grandes distancias, en las 126 estrofas del romance. Y de esas tres estrofas ninguna repite exactamente los movimientos creados en el poemilla.

Otra proyección gráfica del poema es la que ofrecemos en la figura 2 obtenida señalando sólo los acentos básicos de cada verso, tal como están puestos de relieve por los acentos prosódicos. En la primera estrofa, por ejemplo, el segundo verso, de carácter trocaico, se representa solamente con acento en tercera y séptima:

con un *peine* de marfil.

Podría objetarse que la línea obtenida en la segunda estrofa no tiene en cuenta en el cuarto verso el acento en segunda sílaba:

que *blancos* suelen salir

pero (aparte que las diferencias y analogías de segundo grado ya han sido expresadas: el acento de *blancos* tiene su correlato en el verso cuarto de la estrofa anterior, como hemos visto anteriormente) este gráfico recoge las identidades básicas. La misma objeción y la misma justificación son válidas para el acento inicial del cuarto verso de la tercera estrofa. Ya que la diferencia que puede observarse no destruye la circunstancia palmaria de que el verso cuarto de las tres estrofas primeras lleva un acento básico en cuarta sílaba, que es lo que el gráfico recoge. Y las identidades básicas de dichas estrofas, como el gráfico revela, son un prodigio.

La cuarta estrofa, en lo que se refiere a los acentos en relieve, tal como están vigorizados por los acentos prosódicos, tiene un *movimiento* de retardamiento progresivo, igualmente perfecto. El primer verso, como puede verse en la figura 2, lleva un acento inicial en segunda sílaba, el segundo en tercera, el tercero en cuarta, el cuarto en quinta. Dicho movimiento, a su vez, está subrayado por una circunstancia vocálica: la sílaba inicial de los tres versos finales va acentuada en *a*.

de sus *rayos* diera mil  
solicitando invidioso  
el que se quedaba allí.

#### LA CORRELACION TEMÁTICA

Antes de cerrar el análisis del poema, quiero añadir otra circunstancia eminente que afecta por igual a su forma y a su contenido. Todo él se erige sobre una correlación temática que, formulada en los dos versos iniciales, se desarrolla en las estrofas siguientes.

El tema se formula así:

Los rayos le cuenta al Sol  
con un peine de marfil

con los términos sustantivos, aparte la acción verbal, *rayos*, *Sol*, *peine*. El poema desarrolla estos tres términos sustantivos en sentido inverso; en lo que podríamos llamar correlación regresiva.

La mano, implícita en los dos primeros versos, asociada a peine y al concepto blancura (de marfil) son el arranque, en perfecto enlace, de la segunda estrofa:

La mano oscurece el peine.

Los tres versos siguientes desarrollan el concepto blancura:

mas ¿qué mucho? si el abril  
la vió oscurecer los lilios  
que blancos suelen salir.

La tercera estrofa desarrolla el concepto Sol. Es de notar cómo se acentúa la identificación Sol-Jacinta en los dos versos finales:

que el Sol que sale en Oriente  
vuelve otra vez a salir.

O sea; el mismo Sol que en Oriente amanece repite una poética y caprichosa alborada a orillas del gran río.

La cuarta estrofa recoge el sustantivo inicial, *rayos*:

Por sólo un cabello el Sol  
de sus rayos diera mil.

Con la particularidad en esta estrofa de cabo que disocia los conceptos, anteriormente integrados, en una hipérbole que quizá ya anuncia las colosales hipérboles del Góngora posterior. Consecuentemente, con la disociación *cabellos-rayos*, viene la disociación Sol-Jacinta. Jacinta sigue siendo un Sol, un Sol con cabellos rubios ya, pero otro Sol. El sol que se queda, frente al otro que se marcha renuente, envidioso y solícito. En esa delicada lucha de crepúsculos, Jacinta es un perpetuo crepúsculo matutino.

Notemos, finalmente, el carácter de continuidad, como subrayando las continuidades ya analizadas, que el estribillo tiene en las cuatro estrofas. No se autonomiza nunca el estribillo, como ocurre con frecuencia, sino que prolonga el significado de la estrofa completándola y perfeccionándola. Así ocurre en la primera estrofa. Reléala el lector, atento a esta función creada para el estribillo por el poeta, y verá la evidencia de mi afirmación. Pero

véase también, cómo esta función creadora y perfeccionante, no meramente reiterativa, del estribillo aún se aquilata e intensifica en la estrofa segunda:

la vió obscurecer los lilios  
que blancos suelen salir  
en la verde orilla  
de Guadalquivir.

El río se adorna, de pronto, de unas franjas de lirios blancos que se miran en el agua. Esta función de continuidad se mantiene para el estribillo en las dos estrofas restantes, contribuyendo esta última circunstancia a la irreprochable unidad del poema.

No se propone el presente trabajo dilucidar un problema de atribución; cosa que nunca podrá ser resuelta de manera convincente mediante un análisis de formas. Pero en vista de la apretada unidad del romance aquí estudiado, cabe preguntarse con fundamento si todo él no es producto de un solo ingenio. A pesar de la autoridad, no ciertamente infalible, del manuscrito Chacón, creo haber reforzado la presunción de que todo el poema es de mano de Góngora.

*Queens College*



## CENSORSHIP BY IMPRISONMENT IN FRANCE, 1830-1870

By Philip Spencer

THE mid-nineteenth century French author often complains that he is in constant danger of prison. The spectre of the *agent* peers over his shoulder as he writes; the greater his love of liberty, the less is the likelihood that he will enjoy it for long. "Il fallait tourner sept fois sa plume entre ses doigts afin d'écrire un mot," says Du Camp; "car, ainsi que devant le tribunal de la pénitence, on pouvait pécher par pensée, par parole, par action ou par omission."<sup>1</sup> The picture is an engaging one. We see the heroic journalist, like a latter-day martyr, determined to defy all the threats of the law, all the perils of the courts, in order to express the full implications of his ideas; and though the portrait may have a touch of self-dramatisation, it is not without some truth.<sup>2</sup> No doubt a shadow did lie across the page; no doubt the professional journalist who ventured into the realm of politics did often experience anxiety and apprehension. But in order to see the situation as a whole, we need to know more than the journalists usually tell us. We need to know something of prison life. Only then can we understand what they really had to fear, and judge whether the threat of prison was a real preventative—whether it hindered the honest expression of political opinion, the reporting of inconvenient details about the country's economy and, during the Second Empire, even the development of the social novel. In fact, was prison, as has often been suggested, the one and only effective weapon of censorship?

During the forty years between the accession of Louis Philippe and the fall of Napoleon III censorship took three main forms. There was direct control over *colportage*, by which it was possible to forbid the sale of any named work by a professional pedlar. There was, for most of the time, a system of caution-money and official warnings, by which it was possible to shut down any periodical that gave frequent trouble. And there was the power to prosecute for various offences against society—usually for causing outrage to public morality and religion. The latter method, being the only one which could lead to a fine or imprisonment, was from our point of view the most important. Under Louis Philippe all cases of this kind were brought to the *cours d'assises* and heard before a jury, but after 1852 they were transferred to the *tribunaux correctionnels*, whose judges were more acces-

1. Maxime Du Camp, *Souvenirs littéraires*, (2 vols., Paris, 1882-3), II, 46. Cf. Jules Favre, *De l'influence des mœurs sur la littérature*, (Paris, 1869), pp. 29-30; Hector Pessard, *Mes petits papiers*, (Paris, 1887), pp. 8-9.

2. For a discussion of the point see Philip Spencer, "Censorship of literature under the Second Empire," *Cambridge Journal*, III (1949), pp. 47-55.

sible to political pressure and more likely to suit their findings to the wishes of the government.<sup>3</sup>

Critics of this system usually attacked it in the name of periodicals rather than of books.<sup>4</sup> Periodicals had a far wider sale: as the normal vehicle of political propaganda, they were also the habitual victims of official interference.<sup>5</sup> With books, on the other hand, it was hard to make out a strong case for their entire freedom from control. If we turn over the long and representative lists which M<sup>e</sup> Maurice Garçon has drawn up of books that were declared inimical to public morals between 1815 and 1914,<sup>6</sup> it is clear that the vast majority deserved to be suppressed: they belong to a class of pornography that no responsible Government could allow to circulate unchecked. *Les Fleurs du mal* represents an isolated exception.<sup>7</sup> Even the novels of Xavier de Montépin, despite their veneer of sophistication, were deliberately aimed at prurient readers, and the author could hardly grumble if his attempt to exploit this vein earned him three months in prison.<sup>8</sup>

The severity of this sentence, however, suggests that the Government's disapproval of pornography was not entirely disinterested. It has, in fact, been abundantly shown that, under the Second Empire, literary affiliations were *ipso facto* political affiliations. The process that had begun under Charles X when the Romantics swung away from royalism, swiftly accelerated after 1851: Napoleon III's regime tied up morality with political convention, and political convention with literary convention. The man who was orthodox in style and subject-matter was unlikely to harbour secret designs against the Bonapartist regime. The safe writers were epitomized by Octave Feuillet whose novels, by a strenuous exercise in the gymnastic of conformity, complied at one and the same time with social, religious, economic and literary convention. Anyone like Flaubert, who had somehow attracted the epithet *réaliste*, was suspected of belonging to a politico-literary *bohème* and of favouring some kind of revolution. Prosecution therefore seemed to serve a double purpose: it aroused the approval of Napoleon III's clerical supporters, and it struck at the potential agents of republicanism.

But prosecution was not so effective as it appeared. The sanctions of the law lose half their effect when they are not supported by the full weight of

3. See, for instance, P. Fabreguettes, *Traité des délits politiques et des infractions par la parole, l'écriture et la presse* (2nd edition, 2 vols. Paris, 1901), *passim*.

4. Thus F. Girardeau, *La Presse périodique de 1789 à 1867* (Paris, 1867).

5. Novelists like Champfleury, for example, who regularly published their books as *feuilletons* before issuing them in volume-form, often found that a passage that was unexceptionable in a book was immediately objected to if it appeared in a daily paper.

6. Maurice Garçon, "Les livres contraires aux bonnes mœurs," *Mercur de France*, CCXXX (1931), pp. 5-39.

7. The prosecution of *Madame Bovary* was based not on the finished volume but on the extracts that had appeared in the *Revue de Paris*.

8. See Auriant, "Xavier de Montépin, romancier réaliste, moraliste et poète baudelairien," *Mercur de France*, CCLXIX (1937), pp. 620-31.

public opinion, and the mixed motives that often placed a writer in the dock recoiled on the heads of the prosecutors. There was in fact no overwhelming force of public opinion behind the verdicts of the courts. It was no doubt inconvenient, tiresome and humiliating to sit on the criminal benches and still more to be removed to prison, but there was no deep fear of losing one's good name. Not only under the Second Empire, but throughout the half-century from the death of Louis XVIII to the fall of Napoleon III, there is, I think, no authenticated instance of a writer being ostracised because of his encounters with the law. The *bien pensants* might disapprove; the *bons bourgeois* might wag their heads; Flaubert might be jealous of his reputation in Rouen and Baudelaire incur the displeasure of his family; but in circles where literature counted for anything there was no tendency to coldshoulder a man who was out of official favour. Though condemned by the courts, he was in no danger of being cut by his friends. No Frenchman prosecuted for outraging public morality had to undergo the tortures of Oscar Wilde. On the contrary, several reputations were based on nothing more substantial than a few months in gaol. "Plus de prison que d'esprit," as someone remarked on the success of a Restoration journalist.<sup>9</sup>

Not that prosecution was the only threat at the disposal of authority: one could, for example, discontinue a pension or, as Laprade discovered when he published *Les Muses d'Etat* (1861), remove a professor from his chair. Nor was the writer alone in receiving attentions of this kind. Flaubert reports that an unfortunate inhabitant of Saint-Malo was sentenced to three years' imprisonment for carrying a volume of Hugo's poetry in his pocket,<sup>10</sup> and that one of his school friends was heavily fined and sent to prison for a year for distributing copies of *Napoléon-le-Petit*.<sup>11</sup> Moreover publishers and printers, being legally responsible for the material they accepted, were also liable to prosecution: in 1856 Maurice de la Châstre was imprisoned for five years for founding and developing in Paris "une vaste entreprise de librairie révolutionnaire et anti-religieuse";<sup>12</sup> in 1868 Poulet-Malassis received a sentence of six months for publishing the condemned poems from *Les Fleurs du mal*.<sup>13</sup>

On the whole, however, offences by the written word were generally brought home to the author, and a term of imprisonment was the usual method of punishment. "Quelques mois de prison ne me font pas peur,"<sup>14</sup> wrote Zola in 1867, with a touch of bravura, as he considered the possi-

9. Maxime Du Camp, *Souvenirs littéraires*, I, 416.

10. Flaubert, *Correspondance*, (9 vols. Paris, Conard, 1926-33), III, 421.

11. *Ibid.*, III, 101.

12. Jean Maurain, *La Politique ecclésiastique du Second Empire* (Paris, 1930), p. 156.

13. Jeanne Renaut de Broise et Paul Blanchart, "La Révision du procès Baudelaire," *Mercure de France*, CCXLVIII (1933), p. 545. He had been fined for the same offence eleven years earlier.

14. Emile Zola, *Correspondance* (Œuvres complètes, Paris, 1927-29), I, 305.

bility of a charge being brought against him for the publication of *Thérèse Raquin*. In point of fact, the list of authors who for one reason or another had to undergo imprisonment is a long one and includes names like Béranger, Paul-Louis Courier, Sue, Lamennais, Balzac, Girardin, Prévost-Paradol, Montépin, Félix Pyat, Catulle Mendès, Gérard de Nerval, Xavier de Ricard, Ranc, Pelletan, Rochefort, Richepin and Vallès; while the list of authors who underwent prosecution is much longer and includes the Goncourts, Flaubert, Baudelaire and Champfleury. If we add those men who had at least to consider the possibility of imprisonment, we shall find that there is scarcely a writer of any originality or talent during this period who did not at one time or another fear some interference by authority, some curtailment of his liberty.

So much is reasonably established and accepted. What is far less clear is the exact severity of the threat. Did imprisonment effectively deal with the critics of Louis Philippe and Napoleon III? Was it a successful means of censorship? Was the heavy hand of the gaoler a more powerful deterrent than the uncertain pressure of public opinion? It would be understandable if the administration ensured that the experience of prison life was so distasteful that one spell of it would suffice a reasonable man for a lifetime. But what are the facts?

In France, as indeed throughout the civilised world, the nineteenth century marked an era of prison reform, and this, from our point of view, had two consequences. In the first place, prison conditions were not stable but improved throughout the period. In the second, the energy of prison reformers created an enlightened public opinion that reacted on prison administrators. They acquired an uneasy conscience: knowing there was much amiss and much to hide, they did their best to alleviate the prisoners' lot by interpreting regulations in a liberal spirit and when they could do nothing, preserved a discreet silence about the real state of affairs. To see the prisons as they were, therefore, it is worse than useless to consult the regulations and sparse official reports: whether through accident or design, they are misleading. One must go instead to first-hand accounts—by visitors or inspectors or prisoners themselves.<sup>15</sup>

The buildings used for prisons varied enormously, many of them being two or three hundred years old. In the provinces particularly, conditions were abominable—tiny, cramped, dark, stinking cells; no exercise; poor food.<sup>16</sup> But there is fortunately no need to deal with prisons throughout

15. On French prisons in general, see L.-M. Moreau-Christophe, *De la réforme des prisons en France* (Paris, 1838), *De l'Etat actuel des prisons en France* (Paris, 1836), *Code des prisons, ou recueil complet des lois, ordonnances etc.* (4 vols. Paris, 1845-69), *Considérations sur la réclusion individuelle des détenus par W.-H. Suringer*. [...] suivies du résumé de la question pénitentiaire par L.-M. Moreau Christophe (Paris, 1843); Maurice Alroy et Louis Lurine, *Les Prisons de Paris* (Paris, 1846); Max Grunhut, *Penal Reform, a comparative study* (Oxford, 1948).

16. Martin Bernard, *Dix ans de prison* (Paris, 1861), passim.

France, for authors were seldom imprisoned in the provinces. As a result of the centralisation of French literary life, press offences were usually committed in Paris, and in Paris accordingly the offenders served their terms. This was often in direct contravention of the regulations, which required that anyone receiving a sentence of more than twelve months should be sent to a prison in one of the departments. But the governors who ran the Paris prisons under the general control of the Prefect, were prepared to grant concessions—at a price. For a fixed monthly charge they winked at the regulations, allowing long-term prisoners to remain in the capital. Proudhon wrote to a friend in 1849:

Comme je suis condamné à plus d'un an de prison, je paie à l'établissement 18 francs par mois de pension pour rester à Paris. . . Si je ne pouvais payer ces 18 francs, il me faudrait aller à Doullens ou je ne sais où.<sup>17</sup>

And at 18 francs a month the concession was cheap. It meant agreeable company, friendly conversation and a feeling that one was still at the hub of events. Once banished from Paris, the convict must resign himself to utter boredom and futility. Apparently there was one exception among the provincial prisons, and that was Belle-Isle, off the Breton coast, which was specially reserved for suspected anarchists and assassins. Here Blanqui and his fellow-convicts managed to set up a kind of university—an intramural department, as it were—that offered lectures on languages, mathematics, geography, history, astronomy, anatomy, and physiology, while Blanqui himself conducted a daily course in political economy.<sup>18</sup> But there was nowhere else like it.

Judged by modern standards of prison accommodation, Paris conditions were rough. Only at La Conciergerie was there an efficient heating plant. Food was crude and inadequate, rooms dirty, and libraries sparse and ill-chosen.<sup>19</sup> Even La Grande Force (rebuilt in 1836) and Mazas (completed in 1849) offered rather less than comfort to their inmates; and *séparation par quartiers*, officially adopted in 1853 after a brief and unsatisfactory experiment with the cellular system, hardly encouraged a change of heart among the prisoners.<sup>20</sup> In the late 'sixties an Irish visitor could still report: "The man who enters Sainte-Pélagie for a trifling misdemeanour is ripe, when he quits that prison, for any felony."<sup>21</sup>

Authors, however, came in a special category; they were *détenus politiques et de presse* as against *détenus de droit commun*; not common criminals but gentlemen who had merely had the misfortune to offend the political sus-

17. P.-J. Proudhon, *Correspondance, précédée d'une notice sur P.-J. Proudhon par J.-A. Langlois* (14 vols. Paris, 1875), III, 29.

18. Neil Stewart, *Blanqui* (London, 1939), pp. 178-86.

19. (J.P.), "The Prisons of Paris," *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol. 76 (1872), p. 626. Cf. Georges Suarez, *La Vie orgueilleuse de Clémenceau* (Paris, 1930), p. 46.

20. "The Prisons of Paris," pp. 624, 626; *Considérations sur la réclusion* . . . , p. 73.

21. "The Prisons of Paris," p. 622. Cf. "A Trio of Parisian Prisons," *Dublin University Magazine*, Vol. 74 (1869), pp. 468-80.

ceptibilities of the Government. Like *prévenus* and those imprisoned for debt,<sup>22</sup> they enjoyed extensive privileges—how extensive varied from town to town and prison to prison. Prison officials were naturally reluctant to make powerful enemies, and experience showed that the political prisoner of today might be the strong man of tomorrow—perhaps another Louis-Napoleon. In Paris the practice of generations was recognised and approved by a regulation of 1867 by which the *détenu politique ou de presse* were entitled to 600 grammes of white bread a day and half a litre of wine; he could order food from outside, communicate with his fellow-prisoners and entertain selected visitors in the *parloir*;<sup>23</sup> while outside Paris these concessions applied to *détenus de presse* alone.

Surprisingly, then, the author emerges at once as a privileged inmate; his sentence is, as far as possible, made easy. No doubt if he goes to the new prison of Mazas, he must put up with many irritations. His ingoing and outgoing correspondence is carefully read, and he can only talk to visitors through the barred windows of his cell, while a warder, stationed in a kind of gallery in between, listens to every word.<sup>24</sup> At the much older prison of La Force the regulations are less irritating. Committed to the place in 1828, Béranger wrote to a friend:

Je me trouve aussi bien que possible en prison; ma chambre est vraiment fort jolie, et j'ai un certain luxe de mobilier qui me rend tout fier. Mes voisins sont très attentifs. . . . On a pour moi beaucoup d'égards ici.<sup>25</sup>

On his release after a term of nine months, he felt obliged to return the visits of no less than 350 friends and acquaintances.<sup>26</sup>

But for every one author who was sent to Mazas or La Force, there were at least twenty sent to Sainte-Pélagie. It more or less constituted the unofficial headquarters of the literary opposition, and demands a more than cursory description. If imprisonment at Sainte-Pélagie failed to act as a deterrent, we can safely conclude that the imprisonment of authors was not an effective means of dealing with their opposition. The building itself was dirty and battered. Built in 1665 and extended in 1831,

22. It was, of course, not unusual for names familiar to literary history to appear in these privileged categories as well. While incarcerated at the Hôtel de Bazancourt for an acute bout of insolvency, Balzac finished *Le Lys dans la vallée*. During his stay he met Eugène Sue who, arrested for refusing to mount guard, had insisted on being attended by his two men-servants.

23. The journalist, even if only a common-law prisoner, could expect similar treatment. Being richer than the average thief or burglar, he received greater consideration. It seems, in fact, that prisons, though they failed to break even, were normally run on a commercial basis; common-law prisoners were hired out to contractors, the prison authorities taking 50% of their wages. Cf. "The Prisons of Paris," p. 618.

24. "The Prisons of Paris," p. 620. See also Victor Hugo, *Histoire d'un crime* (2 vols. Œuvres complètes. Paris, Ollendorff, 1907), I, 356-60; Jules Vallès, *Les Enfants du peuple* (Paris, 1879), *passim*.

25. Béranger, *Correspondance, recueillie par Paul Boiteau* (4 vols. Paris, Garnier, n.d.), I, 346.

26. Béranger, *Œuvres posthumes. Ma biographie* (Paris, 1868) p. 238.



it stretched down the rue du Puits-de-l'Ermite towards the Jardin des Plantes. The prison was, we are told, "still a type of the evils of common association."<sup>27</sup> There were no cells—just courtyards, dormitories and work-rooms. Nor did the place possess a refectory: meals were eaten in the yard. But all this applied only to the common-law prisoners, and once again it becomes apparent that the *détenus politiques et de presse* were not expected to share such hardships, but were singled out for special treatment. Indeed the more one learns of Sainte-Pélagie, the more one understands why the long-term prisoner was prepared to pay 18 francs a month not to be sent elsewhere. The *détenus politiques et de presse* were in fact lodged in a separate ward. Known jocularly as Le Pavillon des Princes, it shared the staircase leading to the Director's room, and the general atmosphere was that of a hotel in the *quartier latin*. Furniture worthy of a second-class hotel was provided, and prisoners were encouraged to bring their own armchairs. On special authorisation from the Director, they could import all their household effects.

Nor did the concessions stop there. Eugène de Mirecourt, for example, "not only had his food brought in from outside, but decorated his cell with his own furniture, pictures and carpets, had two servants in attendance upon him, and his wife and daughter to see him every day."<sup>28</sup> In theory the prisoners were forbidden to enter one another's rooms, though they could meet at all hours of the day in the corridors and on the landings. But the rules were flouted. The rooms were known by traditional nicknames—*le grand tombeau*, *le petit tombeau*, *la petite Sibérie*, *la grande Sibérie*, *la boîte aux lettres*, etc., and uproarious parties took place inside. Both prisoners and their guests were invited. During his stay Blanqui frequently met Ranc, Vacherot, Catulle Mendès, Eugène Pelletan, Clemenceau, Scheurer-Kestner, Laurent-Pichat, Sully Prudhomme, Anatole France and many more; and a year or two later Jules Vallès (who admitted that the guiding spirit of Sainte-Pélagie was liberty rather than servitude) was entertaining on a lavish scale and organising competitions in boxing, wrestling, fencing and song.<sup>29</sup>

But congenial company was only one of the advantages offered by Sainte-Pélagie. Most prisoners in the Pavillon were able to enjoy some degree of privacy. Separate rooms were available for a small extra charge, in which the political theorist could work out his ideas and the journalist produce his copy.

27. "The Prisons of Paris," p. 622. See also A. Sirvin, *Les Prisons politiques: Sainte-Pélagie* (Paris, 1868). It was pulled down in 1899.

28. Neil Stewart, *Blanqui*, p. 214. This was during Blanqui's term in Sainte-Pélagie, 1861-64. See also J. Arboux, *Les Prisons de Paris*, cited by Gaston Gille, *Jules Vallès* (Paris, 1941), p. 196.

29. Neil Stewart, *Blanqui*, pp. 214-15; Gaston Gille, *Jules Vallès*, pp. 196-7; Jules Vallès, *L'Insurgé*, (Paris 1886), *passim*; J. Bourgeat, *P.-J. Proudhon, père du socialisme français* (Paris, 1943), pp. 132-33.

(These prisoners) are what is termed à la pistole, that is, a room shared by three or four companions, on payment of a small daily fee of from ten to twenty centimes. Some few are fortunate enough to have a room apiece, but this favour is but rarely granted, owing to the exigencies of space and accommodation. These PISTOLIERS are the *élite* of society there, and they rarely mingle with the throng of fellow-captives.<sup>30</sup>

Thus Proudhon wrote to a friend in 1849:

J'occupe, au pavillon dit des Princes, un salon au premier étage, avec deux grandes fenêtres, ayant vue sur l'hôpital de la Pitié et le Jardin des Plantes. Quand vous viendrez à Paris, je serai mieux à mon aise pour vous recevoir.<sup>31</sup>

And he added a few weeks later:

Je n'étais pas si bien logé à la rue Mazarine, même quand j'étais représentant... L'administration nous fournit du vin à douze sous le litre, supérieur à celui des marchands de vin à 1 fr. 50 la bouteille.<sup>32</sup>

Proudhon lived a comfortable, not unpleasant life in Sainte-Pélagie. But he was indiscreet enough to commit an offence which entailed his transfer early in 1850 to La Conciergerie. Here he felt less at home. His room was airier and more spacious, but he was lonely and his faculties were not extended. He longed to be back with his friends; and feeling that his longing was shared—that they needed his company and counsel—he had, within a month, written an urbane letter of protest to the Prefect of Police, which put succinctly many of the advantages of Sainte-Pélagie. He speaks of his fellow-prisoners, now deprived of his company:

J'ai cru que comme j'ai pu contribuer, par mes publications, à les conduire là où ils sont aujourd'hui, je leur devais, en partageant leur captivité, de leur donner tous les secours *spirituels* (pardonnez-moi l'expression), qui sont en mon pouvoir. D'un autre côté, il s'est trouvé dans Sainte-Pélagie un digne citoyen, un homme de bonne compagnie, M. Pinel, le maire du douzième arrondissement, qui m'a fait offrir l'hospitalité dans la chambre qu'il occupe et dont la moitié satisferait pour le moment tous mes désirs.

Telle est donc ma situation, Monsieur le préfet. A Sainte-Pélagie, entouré d'amis, ayant pour ainsi dire à soigner, moraliser, instruire un petit troupeau, et pour ce qui regarde le matériel de la vie, logé bientôt dans cette partie de la prison qui a vue sur tout Paris, qui reçoit le meilleur air du pays, que puis-je souhaiter de plus? Il me semble que mon bien-être et mon devoir se trouveraient ici d'accord, et que l'administration aurait également ses sûretés.<sup>33</sup>

One notes with some regret that on this occasion he was kept in La Conciergerie for sixteen months.<sup>34</sup>

30. "The Prisons of Paris," p. 622.

31. P.-J. Proudhon, *Correspondance*, III, 34.

32. *Ibid.*, III, 39.

33. *Ibid.*, 170-71.

34. J. Bourgeat, *P.-J. Proudhon*, p. 142.

At Sainte-Pélagie, then, there was little danger of that feeling of loneliness and futility that is perhaps the severest trial of the prisoner's life. But this would be small consolation if, as a result of poor feeding, he slipped into chronic ill-health. Prison fare was in fact inadequate. But once again we find a convenient relaxation of the rules. At Sainte-Pélagie, as at most prisons, one could have food brought in by relations, or one could even order meals from near-by restaurants.<sup>35</sup> De Broise, who was involved in the condemnation of *Les Fleurs du mal* and committed to prison at Alençon because of his inability to pay the fine, arranged for his meals to be supplied every day by his wife.<sup>36</sup> In 1849 Proudhon noted with satisfaction:

Je mange le pain blanc de la prison, qui est bon; je prends la soupe maigre et me procure le surplus de ce qu'il me faut au restaurant. En ce moment où le zèle des amis est grand pour les détenus politiques, nous ne manquons pas de rhum, eau de cerise, cognac, vins de Bordeaux et autres. J'en ai encore mon buffet garni.<sup>37</sup>

Proudhon, who combined a lengthy experience of the prisons of Paris with a remarkable capacity for getting his own way, is an invaluable witness because he describes living conditions with so complete an absence of rancour, and because he has so firm a grasp of facts. The pages of his correspondence are studded with the ordinary details of life. He calculates, for instance, that his living expenses at Sainte-Pélagie are no more than two francs a day;<sup>38</sup> and so it is reasonable to assume that any prisoner with 700 francs a year was well-fed, comfortably housed and adequately clothed. No doubt the riotous feasts of Vallès and his friends were rare, but only because they were unduly expensive. There was no official interference, and a prisoner like Blanqui, on the verge of destitution, was allowed to prepare his own meals.<sup>39</sup>

Even so, had Sainte-Pélagie been an island remote from the outside world, none of these concessions would have carried much weight. Isolation would have led to stagnation. Marooned with a few fellows, out of touch with events and personalities, the politically-minded intellectual would soon have lapsed into depression. But here again the authorities seem to have gone out of their way to make prison as agreeable as possible. Visitors were allowed, and even encouraged, to play a full part in the social life of the place—to discuss any matter with their friends, to play games, to attend feasts. Mme Scheurer-Kestner, who called regularly to lunch with her

35. "The Prisons of Paris," p. 618. In extreme cases the prison surgeon could order extra food for a convict who obviously needed it. Lamennais had been made ill by the black bread and boiled potatoes that formed the staple diet in 1841. Exceptionally Balzac had been well provided for at the "Hotel des Haricots."

36. Jeanne Renaut de Broise et Paul Blanchart, "La Révision du procès Baudelaire," pp. 544-45.

37. P.-J. Proudhon, *Correspondance*, III, 28-29.

38. *Ibid.*, II, 381.

39. Neil Stewart, *Blanqui*, p. 214.

husband, apparently remained most of the day.<sup>40</sup> Only as an extreme measure of discipline was such permission withdrawn. The official myth stated that communication with visitors was restricted to the *parloir*. But how far the myth diverged from reality is shown by the not infrequent marriages that took place between prisoners and women from outside. Proudhon himself was married to a working-girl during his stay at Sainte-Pélagie. Taking a room opposite the prison, she came across to dine every evening, and for the rest of the day her husband could watch her at the window, together with the daughter that was born eleven months after the union.<sup>41</sup>

Indeed it was an uncomfortable paradox that the regular routine of the place, the few demands made on the inmates, the abundance of leisure and the assurance of having food and shelter, made Sainte-Pélagie almost ideally suited for intellectual pursuits. Almost but not quite: Lamennais grumbled about the distraction caused by large numbers of visitors, and Vallès complained, a quarter of a century later, of the almost continuous uproar. Considering that almost all the prisoners in the Pavillon were there because of some infringement of the censorship, it would not be surprising if a close check were kept on their work. But letters, though usually read by the administration, went to and fro without hindrance: even when Proudhon was moved to La Conciergerie and forbidden to correspond with his friends, he had little difficulty in arranging for an unofficial postal service, conducted by parcel and string through a convenient window during the hours of darkness.<sup>42</sup> And letters were the least of the prisoners' activities. Permission was usually granted for books and papers to be brought in, and writing materials were always available. Having provided congenial conditions for work, the administration now encouraged prisoners to profit by them: journalists were allowed to continue their trade—and, incidentally, to earn the 700 francs a year that would enable them to buy extra food and other amenities.<sup>43</sup> Proudhon edited *La Voix du Peuple* from Sainte-Pélagie and carried on a violent controversy with Bastiat in its columns. Indeed he was transferred to La Conciergerie entirely because of his fierce attacks on Louis-Napoleon and his open advocacy of revolution.<sup>44</sup> It was a preposterous but normal procedure for prisoners to be brought before the courts and charged with fresh press offences that had been committed while they were still in prison. While Ranc spent his leisure writing articles for a dictionary of geography, Rochefort produced damaging pieces in *La Marseillaise*.<sup>45</sup> In 1868 there was so much literary talent in the Pavillon that

40. André Bellessort, *La Société française sous Napoléon III* (Paris, 1932), p. 322, relying on Laurent-Pichat and Scheurer-Kestner.

41. J. Bourgeat, *P.-J. Proudhon*, p. 136; P.-J. Proudhon, *Correspondance*, III, IV, passim. See also Neil Stewart, *Blanqui*, p. 81.

42. P.-J. Proudhon, *Correspondance*, III, 135.

43. Cf. Philip Spencer, "Writing for Profit under the Second Empire," *French Studies*, V (1951), pp. 223-32.

44. J. Bourgeat, *P.-J. Proudhon*, pp. 134 ff.

45. Ranc, *Souvenirs-Correspondance, 1831-1908* (Paris, 1913), p. 101; Alexandre Zévaès, *Henri Rochefort le pamphlétaire* (Paris, 1946), p. 100.

Jules Vallès was able to edit a *Journal de Sainte-Pélagie*; but when published as part of Henri de Pène's *Paris*, it unfortunately aroused such indignation among provincial subscribers that the second number had to be the last.<sup>46</sup>

Escapes were not unknown, and on the night of July 12, 1835, no less than twenty-eight political prisoners broke out of Sainte-Pélagie. But this possibility caused the administration so little anxiety that they did not even regard prison as a place for uninterrupted confinement. This is the final paradox. It was a normal practice for prisoners, like domestic servants, to have regular days out. Carlier, the Prefect of Police for most of this time, made only two stipulations: the prisoner must supply a suitable pretext, and he must give his word of honour that he would return. Granted these conditions, there was no surveillance and no check, and apparently the trust of the administration was never betrayed. The extent of the concession varied according to political circumstances and the standing of the particular prisoner. At different times in 1851, for instance, Proudhon was having one *jour de sortie* a week, two a week, and three a month.<sup>47</sup> This explains an extraordinary episode on the night of December 2, 1851. Victor Hugo, trying ineffectually to raise Paris against Louis-Napoleon, was closeted with a group of republicans when word came that Proudhon was waiting for him in the Place de la Bastille. Incredulous, Hugo stepped down into the street; and there sure enough, a few yards away, was a dark figure in a broad-brimmed hat, leaning on a parapet, gazing into the water—Proudhon in person. While Falloux and his friends had been marched to the *caserne* in the Quai d'Orsay, and Changarnier, Cavaignac and Thiers were safely locked in Mazas, the leader of revolutionary socialism in France was quietly enjoying a regular outing on the boulevards.<sup>48</sup> Later, when discipline had been still further relaxed, Vallès and Vermorel were coming out most every evening to go to the theatre.

From this brief survey certain conclusions emerge. It is true that no one likes going to prison, losing his freedom, submitting to a cramped and arbitrary regime; and French prisons between 1830 and 1870 were often so dirty and unhygienic that convicts suffered a marked decline in health. But political prisoners belonged to a special category. The *détenus politiques et de presse* were the favourites of the administration. They were not restricted to prison diet, nor were they obliged to undertake manual labour. Sainte-Pélagie had most of the advantages and disadvantages of a modest *pension de famille*. One could work in relative comfort, entertain guests, make friends among distinguished fellow-prisoners. The company was congenial and even the intimacies of family life were not excluded. There

46. Gaston Gille, *Jules Vallès*, pp. 197-99.

47. J. Bourgeat, *P.-J. Proudhon*, pp. 133, 136, 143, 153, 156-57; P.-J. Proudhon, *Correspondance*, IV, 77-78.

48. Victor Hugo, *Histoire d'un crime*, I, 377-78; J. Bourgeat, *P.-J. Proudhon*, pp. 151-53; le Comte de Falloux, *Mémoires d'un royaliste* (2 vols. Paris, 1888), II, 136 ff.

was also no sanction against political prisoners. Journalists continued to sell their copy; publicists pursued their controversies as before. At regular intervals the prisoners' entire freedom was temporarily restored.

It would, of course, be fallacious to paint the picture in light and agreeable tones—to create the atmosphere of a comic opera and to suggest that imprisonment is not, at any time, a severe ordeal. *Il n'y a pas de laides amours ni de belles prisons*. To say farewell to complete freedom of movement is an appalling loss. But the sinister ring which the phrase "political prisoner" had acquired in the twentieth century was entirely absent in France a hundred years ago. If one were forced to go to prison for a political offence and could choose the time and place, there could be many worse choices than Sainte-Pélagie under the Second Empire. It is clear, in fact, that too much has been made of the threat of prison. Imprisonment was almost entirely ineffectual as a means of censorship. It failed as a deterrent, and it did not even succeed as a preventative. Sometimes one even feels that the prison administrators connived at the commission of new offences, as accessories before the fact. A sincere artist, a determined reformer, would never be deflected from his course by the anodyne restrictions of M. Carlier. If the successive governments of France exerted an appreciable influence on the development of literature, if they managed to check the social novel (and the allegation is not proved), their principal weapon lay, not in the threat of prison, but in the threat of unemployment and starvation. But that is a separate question: it would demand a separate enquiry.

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## REVIEWS

*Romance in the Making: Chrétien de Troyes and the Earliest French Romances.* By Foster Erwin Guyer. New York: S. F. Vanni, 1954. Pp. viii + 285.

Professor Guyer's book is largely an amplification of his doctoral dissertation (University of Chicago 1920) and an article in *Modern Philology* XXVI (1929), pp. 257 ff.: "The Chronology of the Earliest French Romances," with certain references to more recent studies on the subject. He here reiterates his earlier views, including those on the controversial matter of chronology. Limitations of space will prevent a full discussion here. Comment on a few points will have to suffice.

Professor Guyer is convinced that Chrétien de Troyes originated the romance, based on Geoffrey of Monmouth's *Historia Regum Britanniae* and the Latin classics of Ovid, Virgil, Statius and Horace. He also tries to prove that the authors of the *Roman de Thèbes*, *Roman d'Enéas* and *Roman de Troie* borrowed from Chrétien. He even insists that *Erec et Enide* must have preceded the *Brut* of Wace (p. viii). In an Introduction, thirteen chapters and a Conclusion, he proceeds to develop his thesis. With some of his conclusions there will be violent disagreement on the part of most Old French scholars.

Since so little is known about the life of Chrétien, Guyer, like others, tries to fill out the story. He assumes that the poet was born in Troyes in Champagne about 1125, that he was educated in the cathedral school there, that he subsequently went to the court of Louis and Eleanor at Paris, then to England, that he later returned to France and died about 1175. All this is possible. He makes no mention of a possible identification with the Chrétien who was a canon of the Abbey of St. Loup in Troyes (see W. A. Nitze: *Percival and the Holy Grail*, p. 282). He refers to the part that Queen Eleanor of Aquitaine probably had in encouraging the romance type of literature. Though this influence may have been exerted at the court of France, as he says, the existing evidence shows it first flowering at the court of England. It seems strange in this connection that he has not thought of the possible influence of Eleanor's younger sister Petronilla (or Aelith), second wife of Raoul de Vermandois and mother of Elizabeth of Vermandois, Philip of Flanders' wife. To this reviewer it seems more probable that it was through Elizabeth, Alice of Blois and Marie de Champagne that the literary movement was carried on after Eleanor's imprisonment in 1174. Paris, Meaux, Lagny and Crépy-en-Valois are close geographically.

It also seems strange that the probable impact of the presence in France (1164-1170) of Archbishop Thomas Becket and his following of secretaries

has not been considered. They were at Pontigny for two years and at Sens for four, occupied principally with religious and political intrigue, but also, according to some of their letters, with literary pursuits, including the copying of the best French manuscripts. None of the Arthurian studies to date has explained satisfactorily the Anglo-Norman bias in Chrétien's works. The imitation of Geoffrey of Monmouth and Wace does not account for it fully.

Guyer's treatment of the classical influence on Chrétien is ample, following and expanding the work of Faral. Few will quarrel with him here. But he dismisses too summarily the so-called Celtic influence. The great number of Celtic names alone should make one ponder. Furthermore it is to be remembered that many of the writers of Chrétien's time were Celts or descendants of Celts, that they were living in or near territories that had been recently or still were Celtic and that Celtic remains, either physical or legendary, were all about them. The great Abelard was a Breton and John of Salisbury was born under the shadow of Stonehenge. Geoffrey of Monmouth long lived near the Welsh border. Celts, Normans and French alike, all had studied approximately the same Latin texts, including the classics, the church fathers and the early chronicles. We should expect to find traces of all these elements either in pure or modified form. Communication was constant between French, Anglo-Saxon, Danish and Celtic territories. That is why it is wise not to be too dogmatic in asserting one's opinion on these elements of literature.

The most widespread disagreement with Guyer's conclusions will be because of his suggested chronology. The date of 1150 for *Erec et Enide* seems too early, though his dates for Chrétien's other works do not seem too much out of line with general scholarly opinion. The present tendency is to place Chrétien somewhat later in the century than the dates given in the literary histories. The article by A. Fourrier in the *Bulletin Bibliographique* of the International Arthurian Society (1950) is the best current example of this point of view. Guyer offers some argument against Fourrier. His objection to the date of 1176 for *Cligès* seems a valid point. The poet would hardly represent "the Duke of Saxony as a contemptible, debased, and cowardly abductor of Fénice in *Cligès*, defeated in a humiliating manner by Cligès, after the Duke then living had married the sister of his patroness" (p. 258). Henry the Lion married Mathilde, half-sister of Marie de Champagne in 1168.

Guyer accepts totally the order of composition given in *Cligès*. He claims that the *Guillaume d'Angleterre* (which he accepts as Chrétien's) was written before the *Ovidiana*, but was not acknowledged for some reason or other. If he accepts Chrétien's statement, why does he not give similar weight to what Marie de France says in the prologue to her *Lais* about the translations from Latin into Romance and date the *Thèbes*, *Enéas* and

*Troie* before Chrétien? This is the logical order of evolution of a literature—translation, adaptation, original works—repeated again and again throughout the ages. His answer is that the authors of these works borrowed from Chrétien and that the very long works were composed later in the century. He is here in opposition to almost all the distinguished scholars who have studied the problem. His statement that the dedication to the *Troie* is applicable only to the years *after* the release from prison of Queen Eleanor (1184) seems illogical. The “riche dame de riche rei” (v. 13468) seems applicable only to the happier years 1156–1173 *before* her imprisonment (see *MP*, XXVII, 1930, p. 381).

The data on Gautier d'Arras must be revised in view of the more detailed information we now have on his activities. Since he has been shown to have been leading an active official life in Flanders and Vermandois during the years 1165–1185 (his death presumably coming soon after the latter date), it is no longer plausible to say that he left one patron and returned to another. During this time he was at the side of Philip of Flanders or substituting for him (see Cowper, *PMLA*, LXIV, 1949, pp. 302–16). Philip was on terms of close friendship with Louis VII, was godfather of Philip Augustus, regent and guardian. He also held fiefs from Frederick Barbarossa, husband of Beatrice of Burgundy. Philip planned to marry his niece and nephew to the children of Marie and Henri de Champagne and had even thought of marrying Marie after the death of their respective spouses. The second part of the *Eracle*, which Marie de Champagne urged Gautier to do, probably dates from the earlier times when the betrothals of the Flanders-Champagne children were being projected and the romance was at least two-thirds completed before the marriage plans with Marie were given up. How far the two romances were meant to serve the political ambitions of Gautier's master is still open to speculation, but the matter of patronage must be reduced to more just proportions.

Perhaps there never will be an absolutely correct chronology of the works of the twelfth century, but the more conventional hypotheses still seem more logical than Guyer's. This work is not the definitive study on Chrétien, but used with caution can be read with profit.<sup>1</sup>

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1. Aside from a number of typographical errors, there are some errors of fact that should be noted: p. 18. Thibaut II of Champagne for Thibaut IV; p. 29 “Henry I . . . founder of thirteen of the cathedrals of the city of bells.” There is only one cathedral in Troyes. The other foundations were abbeys, churches, priories and chapels; pp. 51–52: Matthew of Vendôme was of the thirteenth century rather than the twelfth. He died in 1286; p. 53, note 2: St. Edmund's was an abbey, not a cathedral; p. 170: The cart was not altogether an invention of Chrétien. See the story of the chariot of Clovis II in Gregory of Tours; p. 216: Since the *Table Ronde* is in Wace's *Brut* and not in Geoffrey's *Historia*, Chrétien must have known the former (note 37).

*Diderot Studies II*. Edited by Otis E. Fellows and Norman L. Torrey. Syracuse: The University of Syracuse Press, 1952. Pp. 329.

In this sequel to *Diderot Studies I*, the editors have drawn upon maturer and more professional talents, with the result that if the present volume lacks, on the whole, some of the originality, often penetrating, but occasionally negligent, that characterised its predecessor, it makes up for this by greater circumspection and solidity in its contents.

In "The Préface-Annexe of *La Religieuse*," Herbert Dieckmann presents complete photographic reproductions of two manuscripts from the *fonds Vandeul*. Manuscript A gives the revisions made in 1781 in Diderot's own hand on a copy of the original version of the "Préface-Annexe." Although this revised draft was published in the Assézat-Tourneux edition from another copy, Prof. Dieckmann's discovery and examination of the autograph corrections enables him to show, among other things, that Diderot was himself the author of several interesting additions of hitherto problematic origin. The many transcriptions made necessary by the physical state of Manuscript A attest Prof. Dieckmann's superior skill in deciphering the destroyed and otherwise illegible sections. As for Manuscript B, it represents a clean copy of A, with further corrections, mostly stylistic and until now unknown, by Diderot.

Despite the invitation offered the reader by Manuscript A to seize Diderot's act of composition *sur le vif*, its photographic reproduction is anything but vivid. One even wonders if Prof. Dieckmann did not enjoy greater facility in deciphering the original than is possible, even with the aid of the transcriptions, for the reader here proffered "the opportunity of studying an entire work by Diderot in an autograph manuscript." Only someone who does not attach much value to his eyes will be overscrupulous about verifying the accuracy of all of Prof. Dieckmann's restorations. Moreover, long portions of the manuscript (pp. 52-63, 66-68, 70-75) bear revisions of such minor importance that these might just as well have been given merely in transcript, with a suitable system of annotation. The resources thus saved could perhaps have been used to provide larger, more legible reproductions of the truly interesting pages.<sup>1</sup>

In an accompanying essay, Prof. Dieckmann discusses the history of the manuscripts and convincingly infers from the character of Diderot's revisions that the relation of the "Préface-Annexe" to *La Religieuse* is far more artistically organic than has been imagined. This leads, in turn, to a suggestive consideration, based on the revised "Préface-Annexe," of the evolution of Diderot's ideas concerning the special "reality" created by the fictional synthesis of fact with illusion. But this proves too complex a sub-

1. *Editorial note*: Quite lamentably, Professor Dieckmann's original manuscript was lost in the mail. The presentation of Manuscript A by photo-offset was a "pis-aller." N.L.T.

ject for the author to do justice to with the few examples and brief space available.

In a short, compact article, James Doolittle seeks to define Diderot's more or less synonymous use of "hiéroglyphe" and "emblème," which are aptly taken as containing the key-concept of the poetics in the *Lettre sur les sourds et muets*. It may well be, as the author contends, that this terminology was related to the background of emblematic literature; but if so, the problem remains *how* it was related, for a picture suggesting a text, and a text suggesting a picture are not esthetic corollaries. In fact, Doolittle's reference to the history of emblematics leads him to emphasize unduly the *pictorial* function of the "hiéroglyphe." By Diderot's "propriétés hiéroglyphiques des mots" is meant, in my view, simply the immediate, but not necessarily plastic, expressivity of the physical properties of words (i.e. onomatopoeia, rhythm, consonance, etc.) as distinct from their conventional, symbolic connotations, since it was assumed that in hieroglyphic writing meaning coincided with the material sign expressing it. This would not be quite consistent with Doolittle's judgment that "plastic representation through a verbal medium is Diderot's hieroglyph" (p. 154), for in that case, given that the hieroglyph is of the essence of poetry, the latter could only be a poor version of painting and sculpture. The term seems to have had a more specific function for Diderot. If the numerous instances of poetic hieroglyph cited in the *Lettre* are examined, and particularly the verse of Boileau: "Soupire, étend les bras, ferme l'œil et s'endort," which Doolittle makes his central example, it will be seen, I think, that what the hieroglyph chiefly expresses is not so much a picture as an *action*. The "hiéroglyphe," in brief, animates a verbal picture by recreating what Diderot calls the "*tableau mouvant* of our consciousness," and this it does mainly by re-composing through musical suggestion the actual continuity of experience and thought that has been destroyed by the syntactic conventions of language, or *inversions*. Thus, the poetic hieroglyph serves to represent what is, in reality, distinct from the technical scope of the plastic arts, and in such a manner that Diderot's discussion becomes a significant anticipation of Lessing's *Laokoön*. (Incidentally, Margaret Gilman, elsewhere in the volume [p. 205], hints at this same interpretation.) Such a view of the question, which may, however, be debatable, is not to deny that Doolittle has written a provocative essay on a theme crucial to Diderot's poetics.

Otis Fellows, in "The Theme of Genius in Diderot's *Neveu de Rameau*," undertakes to re-interpret a work that has already exercised the acumen of such distinguished critics as Daniel Mornet and Leo Spitzer. In his insistence that the subject of talent and genius offers the most unifying theme and the best clue to the elucidation of the *Neveu de Rameau*, Fellows has opened a new and most promising path to the deeper exploration of Diderot's enigmatic masterpiece. However, the exploitation of this insight in-

curs certain difficulties. The author maintains that Diderot's creation of the monstrous distortion of genius that is Jean-François Rameau was motivated by "serious self-questioning" of his own genius, that it proved an "occasion for the writer to express his doubts, voice his uncertainties and rationalize the conflicting forces" within himself (p. 179), and that it finally resulted in Diderot's "finding himself" as a creative artist. Ample evidence is presented to show that the years leading up to the composition of the *Neveu de Rameau* in 1761 brought a plethora of trials and setbacks for Diderot, whose irritated and depressed mood doubtless sought and found satisfaction in the sole satiric outburst of his career. But the assumption that he was at the same time engaged in earnest "self-doubts" and "soul-searching" seems less plausible, for not only were such mental habits untypical (and even disconcertingly rare) among the *philosophes* in general, but could not have been, if they existed in so combative an enthusiast as Diderot, much more than momentary impulses. But even if the thesis were granted, it would by no means be sufficiently clear just how the spectacle of so depraved and wretched a failure as the Nephew could serve Diderot to ascertain his own talents and destiny, when the actual situations of the two remain so strikingly dissimilar. This problem is not resolved by the discussion of the Nephew's famous second pantomime which, far from reflecting in any serious sense the *alter ego* of Diderot's own genius, is said to "emerge as a hideous mockery of genius," and to "verge on the ludicrous" (p. 195). Could Diderot have here been satirizing, instead, the degradation of the creative urge as a result of the social and economic revolution of his epoch? Is he once again the prophet of things that will be plain to everyone a century later? There runs through Fellows' essay an awareness that the Nephew is the cooperative victim of a society "least suited for the cultivation of higher artistic expression" (p. 190). It would have been interesting to see to what extent such a hypothesis, rather than that of Diderot's self-doubting, could be made to explain the aberrations of talent of which the Nephew is the supreme example in literature. But if the interpretation given by Fellows is not final, with the theme of genius and talent it has the great merit of advancing on the right track.

Margaret Gilman's "Imagination and Creation in Diderot" gives the fruit of researches in a subject that has interested her for some time. Seeking neither to evaluate critically Diderot's ideas nor to place them in the current of eighteenth-century esthetic speculation, it is almost exclusively expository in purpose. However, to anyone familiar with the scattered, unmethodical and often contradictory nature of Diderot's remarks concerning the creative imagination, there is no lack of enterprise in the author's aim "to bring together and relate to one another some of the most important of these passages, to discover from them just what Diderot's conception of the imagination was," and to demonstrate that it had "a basic unity" (pp. 200-01). In meticulous and clarifying fashion, Miss Gilman shows that



Diderot understood the creative process analytically and pluralistically as the "collaboration of several faculties, each of which has its special function" (p. 218). Imagination furnishes the "modèle idéal intérieur"; technique makes it communicable through a given artistic medium; both faculties draw upon "enthousiasme," mainly an emotional factor, for intensity and sustained effort. Creation is, in turn, the total, harmonious activity of these diverse faculties. Miss Gilman goes on to show that the confusions in Diderot's use of "créer"—ranging from "l'imagination ne crée rien" to "l'art de créer des êtres qui ne sont pas, à l'imitation de ceux qui sont, est la vraie poésie"—are in nature terminological, and, in the negative instances, were owing to the association of "créer" with the theological *creatio ex nihilo*. On one point, perhaps, the unity of Diderot's conception of the imagination remains doubtful. Diderot sometimes attributed to the imagination the passive capacity to recall images photographically, at other times the active power of decomposing and re-combining these, and indeed simultaneously "la faculté de se rappeler et de combiner." He did not succeed in synthesizing, however, these phenomenologically different operations. While in his maturer reflexions on the subject, Diderot put ever greater emphasis on the "combining powers," and on the "modèle intérieur" as distinct from any "modèle extérieur," his loyalty to Lockean psychology prevented him from giving to his esthetic notions an adequately consistent basis in epistemology. But this shortcoming is that of philosophy in the Enlightenment, and not Miss Gilman's.

In "Diderot and Hobbes," Leland Thielemann attempts a long and well-documented study of the *philosophe's* debt to the English philosopher. The presence of Hobbesian ideas is traced through such key-texts as de Prades' thesis and the *Suite de l'Apologie*, the *Encyclopédie* articles "Hobbisme," "Autorité politique," "Droit naturel," and others, as well as by exhaustive reference to pertinent passages from the whole of Diderot's writings. Although this task is performed conscientiously, the overall conclusion to be drawn from the materials assembled is that the influence of Hobbes on Diderot is much more problematic than Thielemann himself seems willing to recognize. As an example of the author's method, it is stated that "the Hobbesian conception of man as egocentric and acquisitive was fundamental to Diderot's ethical and political thinking;" but nonetheless, quite contrary to Hobbes: "Diderot insisted that man was endowed . . . also with the reflexive and instinctive virtues of sociability, benevolence, conscience and remorse" (p. 232). But, if such is the case, why speak of a particular indebtedness on Diderot's part to Hobbes? What moral thinker before or after Hobbes has failed to notice an egocentric, selfish component of human nature? If Diderot was influenced at all on this point, why not rather by La Rochefoucauld whom he surely read before Hobbes, or better still, by the Christian tradition which specifically maintained such a moral duality? The same type of flaw in construing influence is seen, also,

with regard to Diderot's uneasiness about the possible perversion of the "social contract" idea to give a legal justification to existing autocracies. But why say that Diderot learned indirectly of this danger from the pages of Hobbes, when it was suggested directly to the observer by the actual political situation of France and other European states? Again, Hobbesian influence is made far from clear by affirming that Diderot opposed ecclesiastical interference with civil authority, because the "higher law" of religion threatened an "anarchic state of nature" (p. 246). First, unlike Hobbes, Diderot and the *philosophes* feared the tyranny of religion rather than its anarchy, and, in stressing the anti-civic tendencies of ecclesiastical ambition, they were chiefly playing one authority of the *ancien régime* off against the other. Secondly, Diderot was not opposed in principle to the "higher law" when *philosophic* subversion was involved, as Thielemann, for that matter, is well aware (pp. 252-53). But where is the shadowy hand of Hobbes in this complex strategy? The answer is not easy to give. Similar instances could be multiplied of an influence so tenuous and devious as to seem indefinable. In short, Thielemann's article shows, on the whole, that while Diderot often cited Hobbes in the elaboration of his own thought, the Englishman's ideas generally served less as a concrete influence, than as a sort of outermost philosophic boundary against which the *philosophe*, by measuring the distance, could take his own bearings. Thus, the influence of Hobbes on Diderot was, as the author too realizes, primarily "negative" in character. But a study of negative influence is most significant for the intellectual historian when it can be shown that one body of thought owes its formation or direction, in some degree, to a conscious reaction against another. Despite its richness of information and documentary value, Thielemann's article does not succeed, by and large, in demonstrating that Diderot's anti-Hobbesian statements had appreciably more than a "topographic" function in the exposition of his own ideas.

Marx Wartofsky's "Diderot and the Development of Materialist Monism" is the longest and most ambitious contribution to the volume. Written from the standpoint of technical philosophy (but not without some tendency towards jargon), the article has the merits of coming to grips with the systematic coherence of Diderot's thought, and of seeking to view it, not in isolation, but against a historical background consisting, mainly, of Spinoza, Leibniz, Maupertuis and La Mettrie. Although Wartofsky's subject has been variously and extensively treated in the past (a circumstance that does not, however, give him much pause), his special aim is to show that Diderot cast materialist monism in a dialectical mold that made it possible, in explaining organic development, sensibility and consciousness in nature, not only to dispense with hylozoistic and other idealist schemes, but to transcend "mechanistic materialism," which had become inadequate. But several weaknesses turn up in the execution of this project. Regarding the historical setting of Diderot's philosophy, for instance, it is suggested

that the monistic idea as such was derived from Spinoza; but the author is at the same time fully aware that "this metaphysical unity of substance" was transformed "into a very different sort of material unity" (p. 285). Now such an adaptation was, of course, logically possible; but is that what actually happened? We do not learn, because the discussion is carried out in a sort of vacuum, with little concrete evidence being offered to prove that Diderot in effect arrived at the monistic conception of reality *via* the pantheistic detour, and not by some other route, such as, for example, the self-contained unity of the physical universe implicit in Cartesian science. Similarly, Leibniz's monadology is made to supply the notion of "matter as self-moving," although again Wartofsky must concede that "this self-motion of matter is rather a transformation by Diderot of the self-motion of the . . . monad" (p. 295). While Leibniz was doubtless an important source of the dynamic view of matter, the lack of concrete historical linkage leaves unresolved, not only the possibility of other sources, but also the more immediate problem of whether it was not the concept of kinetic energy of Leibnizian physics, rather than the metaphysical monad, that particularly influenced Diderot. The author even asserts, somewhat self-contradictorily, that "the ontological materialist basis of Diderot's monism did not have its source in the metaphysical tradition; its source was mechanical materialism rooted in the materialist science of the day" (p. 294). But unfortunately, Wartofsky has not followed his own lead. As a result, his unhistorical eclecticism in relating Diderot's materialism to various elements in the thought of Spinoza and Leibniz, as well as of Maupertuis and La Mettrie, often leaves us wondering whether he is tracing actual philosophical influences, or merely comparing, for purposes of clarification, various systems among themselves.

In the analysis of Diderot's materialism, Wartofsky is instructive in his stressing the *philosophe's* primary aim to account for the dialectical process in nature whereby inorganic matter develops into the conscious organism. But in his efforts to interpret this as a transcending on Diderot's part of the mechanistic categories as such, he falls into a circular argument that repeatedly contradicts what he sets out to prove. We read, for instance, that the "change from inorganic to organic matter is, for Diderot, a change in the qualitative level of the organisation of matter. . . . The aggregates that he speaks of are not merely quantitative combinations, but are qualitative levels . . ." etc. (p. 314). But in the next sentence, this "dialectic" is further described as follows: "Thus continuity and discontinuity, the unity of particularity and universality, of quantity and quality, are maintained by Diderot as characteristics of matter in motion." So we are back where we started: for how else could "matter in motion" be scientifically represented if not *quantitatively*? Later on, it is said: "Life, being a real quality, is arrived at by action and reaction and by quantitative changes" (p. 321); and just below this: "Diderot's approach is a dynamic one, superseding the

mechanistic theory of merely quantitative change." Elsewhere: "The relation of cause and effect at the level of organic matter is no more a mechanical cause and effect than the cause and effect relation between the molecules" (p. 323); and the next sentence states: "The cause and effect is a function of the internal properties of the organic aggregates here, just as it is a function of the internal force and motion of the molecule"; from which Wartofsky concludes that "it is this kind of cause and effect . . . that transcends the quantitative limits of mechanism." But does it? How else would Diderot (or anyone, for that matter) propose to express intelligibly the "internal force and motion of the molecules" if not in quantitative, mechanical concepts? The best that can be said about the author's logic is that its contradictions are terminological in origin. In conclusion, Wartofsky fails to show just how Diderot "went beyond" mechanistic materialism. What he does show, but interprets confusedly, is that Diderot, in order to explain the qualitative changes from the world of inorganic to that of organic phenomena, modifies the narrow conception of mechanism derived from the physico-mathematical science of the period. He not only understands this mechanism to be dynamic and absolutely self-contained, but attempts to render it sufficiently complex and pliable to encompass and unify the organic and inorganic realms. Diderot's theorizing about qualitative levels in nature, however, is ultimately referred back to mechanical causation, and made intelligible, so far as possible, by the logic of mechanistic science.

The above-mentioned studies are preceded by an "Introduction" from Prof. Torrey's pen, lucidly summarizing Diderot's pivotal, decisive role in the cultural transition from the eighteenth to the nineteenth century, and suggesting the main course of research that still remains for the future. As for the present collection, while few of its articles can be said to treat their subjects in a definitive fashion, they compose together an impressive volume that both stimulates our thinking, and advances considerably our knowledge about Diderot.

ARAM VARTANIAN

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Don Ramón del Valle Inclán: *Publicaciones periodísticas anteriores a 1895*.

Edición, estudio preliminar y notas de William L. Fichter. México: El Colegio de México, 1952. Pp. 222.

Professor William L. Fichter has gathered from newspapers and magazines, thirty-seven collaborations by Valle Inclán, all of them written between 1889 and 1895. Of these, only one, the short story *A media noche* was previously known as having appeared in *La Ilustración Ibérica*, Barcelona, 1889, VII, 317.

The volume now published contains material of a very miscellaneous nature: short stories, literary reviews, trip memories, interviews, etc. but nevertheless, and notwithstanding the expected imperfections, it is possible

to say that here is substantially the last Valle Inclán. An affirmation which could not be made considering only *Femeninas* (1895), the first book signed by Valle Inclán and until recently thought to be the beginning of his literary career.

Valle Inclán wrote these pages from the age of twenty-three to twenty-nine, a period in which his whole personality reached maturity, lacking only the reflection of that personality into the still unborn work of art. It is surprising, indeed, how little the following years will add in ideas, themes and attitudes. The essentials are here awaiting future experiences and future readings to bring to light his vision of life through an original style.

Among other things, these "primicias" confirm and add new data about what Don Manuel Murguía said in the prologue of *Femeninas* (namely that Valle Inclán was inspired by recent personal experiences plus the Galician literary tradition), and they put an end to the generalized idea of the existence of two periods in Valle Inclán's work.

Valle Inclán, as a beginner, felt himself conditioned by nature for an introspective life in which the only valuable reality is a personal, intimate one, a mixture of sensations and memories from which artistic objectivity has to be derived. When the head editor of *El Universal* asked him in Mexico City to write about Spanish customs he exclaimed: "¡Yo pintor de costumbres! ¡Yo que marchó por las calles como un sonámbulo, sin enterarme, ni tantico, de lo que a mi lado sucede! ¡Yo, que por mis *dis-traimientos* parezco destinado a morir hecho tortilla por un tranvía!" (p. 158). And when writing about the Galician countryside, he commented that it had "el privilegio de atenuar los neurotismos de mi naturaleza excitada y sensitiva" (p. 69). Only what his imagination conceived as something extraordinary appealed to him. He would try to forget every kind of commonplace. Originality was for him an unavoidable must: "Si yo fuese poeta—y aunque no lo fuese—entonaría un himno a la belleza de este suelo, [he was referring to the beauty of the Spanish province of Pontevedra] pero me detiene lo rosobado del tema. ¡Son tantas las rosas de plata y oro con que ha sido premiado el estro de los que aquí cantaron, ya en castellano, ya en dialecto, las glorias, las empresas y las vistas panorámicas de su querida patria!" (p. 72).

In the short stories "¡Caritativa!" and "La confesión" (both adapted and partially reproduced in "Octavia Santino," from *Femeninas*, and in the play *Cenizas* [1899] which was also published with the title *El Yermo de las almas: Episodios de la vida íntima* [1908]) it is surprising to find a character named Pedro Pondal, who resembles Valle Inclán very closely. He was: "Un muchacho estudiante en la Universidad de Brumosa, donde sus extravagancias, con vistas al manicomio, acarrearánle reputación nada envidiable. Era el tal de carácter romántico, de agudo ingenio, mucha labia, mas con tan menguada inclinación por la ciencia justiniana, que los bancos del aula no le vefan durante meses enteros: llamábase Pedro Pondal, pero



allí todos le decían Pedro Madruga, sin duda en recuerdo del terrible bastardo de Sotomayor, con el cual tenía semejanza en la condición exaltada y turbulenta" (p. 172); "contó él una historia de amores que había tenido el fin triste de tantas otras de igual jaez, y desavenencias con sus deudos, antipatías y rencores que dejaba tras sí, su cariño, su gran cariño a Brumosa, los últimos días amargos que pasó en ella y el alejamiento de . . . de todos . . ." (p. 173); "Ya no tengo ni una almena que pueda decir que es mía. He ahí por que me resolví a venir a Madrid. La miseria con traje de etiqueta es horrible; aquí, en cambio, nadie me conoce; seré uno de tantos locos con melena que viven y mueren olvidados de todos" (p. 173). Octavia Santino who is listening "duda si aquel muchacho estafalario es un embustero o un loco, pues de ambas cosas tiene traza" (p. 174). It is known, through other sources, that Valle Inclán was a poor student of law in the university of Santiago, that he dropped his studies when his father died, that the economic situation of his family deteriorated considerably forcing the young Valle Inclán to go to Madrid in search of a future. About his first stay in the capital of Spain, only the testimony of a half dozen articles in the Madrilenian newspaper *El Globo* remains and that which his memory and fantasy added in later years: an unfortunate romantic love in Santiago, the family pride incompatible with poverty, a love affair with an older Italian girl who died, a forced bohemian life . . . all suffered by a young man of quick temper, great ambition and a tremendous capacity to live his own dreams. Spain seemed small and, being a Galician, America had exerted upon him—as upon all his countrymen—a great attraction. His family, through a final effort, would provide the necessary money for the trip. To America, then, to work out his own life and to forget his last experiences. Ramón Valle Peña—as he was actually called—arrived in Mexico and after a few days became Don Ramón del Valle Inclán, a half real, half fictitious man who liked to say he had lived what he only dreamt. Consequently he wrote taking pride in his imaginary friendship with well known people like Echegaray, Zorrilla, Salvador Rueda, Pablo Iglesias, Lombroso, etc. He also said he had been in Italy, in Andalucía . . . places he had not visited at all. Name upon name is mentioned to make him sound like a well read man: Tolstoy, the Goncourts, Bourget, Galdós, Duque de Rivas, the P. Coloma, Palacio Valdés, Péladan, Barbey d'Aureville, Goya, Sardou . . . "¡Salve, resueña mentira, pájaro de luz que cantas como la esperanza!" he will say afterwards.

But not everything is a lie or an empty gesture on behalf of the character he is becoming. On the contrary, he will be faithful, from the beginning to the end of his life, to his esthetic credo, to his conscience and to his political convictions. In his commentary of Galdós' novel *Angel Guerra*, when referring to the protagonist, he writes: "Angel Guerra no es solamente un revolucionario arrepentido, es la encarnación del más puro amor humano, el fanático de las virtudes sociales, el Amadís de Gaula de la caridad, en una



palabra: la santidad librepensadora y francmasónica. Angel Guerra, con Tomás Orozco son los primeros apóstoles de una religión *nhilista*—porque ha de nacer de la ruina de las existentes—basada en el evangelio” (p. 59). It is unnecessary to add that similar thoughts can be found even in his latest work. In the articles entitled *Ecos de la prensa*, and in others also appearing in *El Universal*, he frequently condemned the conservative politicians and the conservative press while eulogizing republicans, socialists and even anarchists. On the other hand, when writing about Spanish military men, he cannot avoid using an ironic tone: “los generales amenazan con desnudar la tizona, si no tinta en cien batallas, aun no lo bastante mohosa para dejar de causar miedo al Gobierno” (pp. 104–05). And the same tone is applied to the Catholic church: “Los obispos alzan indignados la diestra evangélica, provista de la pastoral amatista, y gritan por boca propia o de Nosedal” (p. 105). Spanish middle and upper classes are profoundly disliked, but common people and everything popular is well liked. This is the way he describes the peasants from the Alcarria, the Isidros seen in Madrid during the holy days. They are: “los descendientes de los procuradores populares que sostuvieron contra el poder real y la nobleza los derechos forales de sus concejos. Ellos conservan incólume, con el traje y los usos, el espíritu español de ha cuatro siglos, la tradición netamente castellana de lealtad y franqueza” (pp. 148–49). The lasting presence of Goya is explained by its “popular y manolesca” roots, derived from the fact that “los españoles que perdimos el misticismo heredado de Roma, conservamos vivo el amor a la guitarra y los toros transmitido con la sangre mora” (p. 115).

The picturesque aspects of Spanish life also attract his enthusiasm. Commenting on the book *Crotalogia* by the Lic. Francisco Agustin Florencio, he feels: “algo como nostalgia o ‘saudade’ de la patria; creí ver un momento, brillante desfile de majos y gitanas, de toreros y manolas, de capas rojas y pañolones de Manila, de mozos crudos de Triana y de hombres del Lava-piés; en suma, de todo lo que es guapeza y torería en la ‘tierra de María Santísima’” (p. 133). And a little further: “tres o cuatro chulos con gorra de seda, corbata color pimientos y rica camisola de batista” (p. 134); “la mano ante la faja de seda donde guardan la navaja de a tercia que dice en su reluciente hoja: ¡Viva mi dueño!” (p. 165). (More than thirty years later he will give the title *Viva mi dueño* to the second volume of *El Ruedo ibérico*.) Gypsies, *chulos*, *manolas*, *cantaores*, beggars and even bohemians are always present in Valle Inclán’s mind, although they will not be used as literary material for some years to come.

Valle Inclán began writing about real or imagined memories, far from everyday life, in a conscious effort to surpass previous literary styles. This was done against three favorite backgrounds: the Galician, Italian and American. All three are already here. Galicia appears represented mainly by geographical names: Céltigos, Gondarín, Bradomín, San Rosendo de Gundar, Sobrán, Verdicio, Brandeso; personal names: the Quintañones (Mon-

tenegros?), Brión, Ginesín, Sagel; names of things: bouza, sona, serán, macidáns, mantelo, cirolas, frade, tobo; and idiomatic expressions: "haberá bien," "más mejor," "no le está," "otra vegada," etc. The Galician contribution is also present in the use of legends, superstitions, customs, and the enjoyment of macabre anecdotes permeated with irony, a well known Galician trait. Italy begins to appear through its language, probably tied to the memory of the woman hidden under the name of Octavia Santino. The Hungarian gypsy of the short story *Zan el de los osos* (p. 96) uses a few words in that language: "¡Ay, povero de mí que estoy perduto! ¡qué desgracia ésta, nostro señor!!!" (p. 101). Octavia Santino in *La Confesión* calls Pedro Pondal: "mi poverino fanciullo." Perhaps the rudimentary knowledge that Valle Inclán had of the Italian language at this time was enough to justify his invented visit to Naples. America appears as an immediate consequence of Valle Inclán's first visit to Mexico. *Bajo los trópicos* (p. 168) has as a subtitle *Recuerdos de México* and will be amplified later in *La Niña Chole* (from *Femeninas*) and in *Sonata de Estío*. From that time on, America will be forever present in Valle Inclán's work.

There is still another characteristic of Valle Inclán's prose that makes its first appearance here. It is the presence of literary clichés. Whenever Valle Inclán finds or creates a description, a sentence or even a word that he likes, nothing will prevent him from using it again, as a painter uses colors or motives taken from another's pictures. For example, the description of Mrs. Echegaray (p. 73) is also applied to Rosita Tejero, a dancer (pp. 134, 35). And the one of Pablo Iglesias (pp. 126-27) will also be used for Pedro de Tor (pp. 68-69). These examples could be multiplied very easily.

All of those dedicated to the study of the extraordinary figure of Don Ramón del Valle Inclán are indebted to Dr. William L. Fichter for making this interesting collection available and for the enlightening introduction he wrote for it, which is in part a continuation of another excellent essay he published a few years ago in the *Revista Hispánica Moderna*. The distinguished scholar, Alfonso Reyes,—so well acquainted with Valle Inclán—made this publication even more valuable through his short preface.

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*André Gide, l'insaisissable Protée: Etude critique de l'œuvre d'André Gide.*

Par Germaine Brée. Paris: Société d'Édition "Les Belles Lettres" (Études françaises, 45<sup>e</sup> cahier), 1953. Pp. 369.

An almost insuperable temptation leads editors to assign a book for review to one who has written a book himself on the same subject. After all, who should be a better judge of the new study? But the editor forgets that, the two approaches frequently being so different as to be almost opposed, he will receive either a personal execution or a bland notice or else have to wait years before his reviewer thinks he has achieved the necessary objec-

tivity. In any case the editor suffers as a result of a choice that seemed so natural, so obvious.

In the two years since Professor Brée's critical study appeared, numerous other books on Gide have come out, most of them not as inclusive as hers, to be sure. But even before her book was finished there already existed at least four general monographs in French (not to mention the many excellent studies devoted to aspects of Gide's work and thought) and two in English. It is therefore both fair and expedient to judge *André Gide, l'insaisissable Protée* by asking just what it contributes to our knowledge and insight that is not found in Fernandez, Hytier, Albérès, Pierre-Quint, Painter, and Guerard—to take only the complete "ouvrages critiques" listed in its bibliography.

Limiting herself to "l'œuvre purement fictive" (p. 11) and using the autobiographical works only as supporting evidence, Germaine Brée follows a rigorously chronological development, which perhaps accounts for an unaccustomed dullness in dealing with an inexhaustibly fascinating material. Such an impression may also result in part from her not taking our reading for granted—like the seminar-student who refuses to believe that all his auditors have read the text he is discussing and hence indulges in interminable résumés. Such a basically pedestrian approach is constantly enlivened, however, by perceptive and even daring individual critical judgments not to be found in her predecessors: that Gide's creative works may be divided into those tending toward the novel and those tending toward the theater (p. 28); that *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* is "un grand roman" (p. 281) and "une réussite littéraire compacte et unique" (p. 312); that "le visage de Mme André Gide" in *Et nunc manet* may have been determined by "le visage d'Alissa" (p. 13); that the two women named Ellis in *Le Voyage d'Urien* may represent the two souls of Gide (p. 56); that Fleuri-soire and Lafcadio stand for the two extremes of their creator (p. 231); or that the Icare of *Thésée* parallels André Walter and the young André Gide (p. 337). Wherever Germaine Brée examines the style of Gide or his humor, either in general or in particular, one can wholeheartedly applaud her subtlety. And her handling of the structure of *La Porte étroite* (p. 200) and of *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* (p. 279) could not be more detailed and convincing. Unlike most writers on Gide, she skillfully avoids the pitfalls of the value to be granted the homosexuality in *L'Immoraliste* (pp. 159–60) and of the analogy between *Thésée* and Gide (p. 333).

On the other hand, it is difficult to agree with Germaine Brée's equally original and personal views that "El Hadj est loin d'André Gide" (p. 98); that *Saül* is marred by "une question puérile de nom [Daoud]" (p. 139); that Gide is a liberator in *La Porte* rather than in *Les Nourritures* (p. 207); that *Numquid* is "bien peu mystique" and "ne se préoccupe guère de religion" (p. 210); that *La Symphonie pastorale* is often "un immense jeu de mots" (p. 247); that the spirit of the *récits* and *soties* "rappelle un peu

celui de Lewis Carroll" (p. 257); that the tale of the Bourgogne shipwreck, so often used by Gide, suggests caricature (p. 293); and that the "grivoiserie" is barely noticeable in *Thésée* (p. 331). Altogether she appears unduly harsh in judging *Œdipe*, Gide's masterpiece in adapting the classical (pp. 318 and 327); does the tragic hero's self-blinding evoke only irritation and irony in Gide? Yet, nonetheless, the critic boldly re-establishes the balance in favor of the supreme achievement of *Les Faux-Monnayeurs*, too often judged hitherto in the light of disparaging remarks by Gide himself never intended for application to his novel.<sup>1</sup>

What is perhaps most novel in Professor Brée's treatment of Gide is her consistent effort to relate him to writers of the present day who now enjoy an exceptional vogue among the young. After having had a modish thesis on Proust's existentialism, we are now called upon to congratulate Gide for having frequently forestalled Sartre and Camus. "Philoctète-Robinson est déjà un héros existentialiste sans le savoir" (p. 137); "Il n'y aura pas de profondes modifications à faire subir au mouvement du personnage gidien pour obtenir le personnage sartrien" (p. 153); "Que deviendra Michel? Gide, en ce point, annonce Sartre" (p. 163); "La pensée de Gide, implicite dans l'histoire, paraît en ce point encore se rapprocher de celle de Sartre" (p. 163); "Ménalque assume consciemment, en véritable héros pré-sartrien, un mode de vie qui convient à ses exigences" (p. 166); "[Michel] détruit tout ce qui porte l'empreinte de la culture, curieux précurseur du Caligula de Camus . . ." (p. 175). It is not strange that in *Les Caves du Vatican* Gide is found to formulate "un point de vue sur la vie qui se rapproche fort de la conception de l'absurde qui lentement faisait son chemin et prévaudra avec la vogue de l'existentialisme" (p. 233) and that Lafcadio should be "engagé" (p. 232); but it is somewhat staggering to discover that Alissa raises the same problem as Camus' Caligula (p. 192) and that in *Proserpine* "les champs-élysées gidiens [. . .] annoncent l'enfer de Sartre, dans *Huis Clos*" (p. 181). Other parallels with Sartre and Camus can be found on pp. 19, 23, 26, 93, 101, 101, 103, 116, 161, and 233. It is not surprising that Germaine Brée finds Gide's ironic title of *Littérature engagée*, applied to his non-literary writings of the Communist period, to be "malencontreux" (p. 17).

This pious effort to rejuvenate Gide, which might be said to reach its height on p. 83 when the critic refers to the Gide of *Les Nourritures* as "héros sartrien avant l'heure," does not quite jibe with her initial chapter.

1. Numerous errors can doubtless be attributed to haste: "le groupe des 'Cinq' en musique" (p. 210); "Mademoiselle Verdurin" in *Isabelle* (p. 214); the action of *Les Caves* situated in 1896 (p. 220) but situated "en 1890 environ" on p. 270; Carola absent from the funeral of Fleurissoire (p. 222); "Entre *Les Caves* (1919) et *Les Faux-Monnayeurs* (1925), [. . .] ces neuf années" (p. 237, where not only the subtraction but both dates are wrong); "dans le *Journal* dès avant 1929" followed by a quotation from *Pages de Journal 1939-1942* (p. 314); "Dubos" for Du Bos (p. 354); "McCaren" for McLaren (p. 369).

For those twenty-three pages present an unusual picture (hitherto unknown except in the highly personal and vindictive pages of the Marxist Maurice Lime) of André Gide in opposition to the literature of 1950, a *grand bourgeois* of the late nineteenth century marked by "une irresponsabilité sociale profonde" (p. 17) and forever "impermeable à ce qui est étranger" (p. 13) who by his lack of "tourment" and of "diabolique" ceased to dominate those who had lived through the second World War (p. 16). Indeed, the very transparency of his work explains why present criticism turns away from him, we are told (p. 29). Gide himself was not more sweeping in his dismissal of Barrès and Anatole France. After reading that first chapter presenting an André Gide of far away and long ago with but little to say to us in 1953, a thoroughly disinfected André Gide, one cannot but wonder why he deserves 350 subsequent pages of close examination.

For all its sympathetic analysis of Gide's works and its evident delight in their literary and philosophical subtleties, the greatest originality of *L'Insaissable Protée* lies in its voicing of two attitudes, neither of which is quite complimentary to that giant of modern letters. Furthermore, they appear to be mutually exclusive and suggest conflicting motives. One is the temptation to relegate Gide in agreement, with a certain judgment of Saint-Germain-des-Prés, to a benighted and conservative past, harmless and not very stimulating. The other is to try to annex him to the most recent and fashionable currents in letters, to demonstrate that he too by his foresight deserves our interest beside the idols of the age. The final sentences of the book (p. 351) bear witness to this double motivation;

Il paraît présomptueux de prononcer, sur cette œuvre, un jugement, car tout jugement risque encore de paraître précautionneux ou injuste. Les divers assauts lancés contre elle, depuis la mort de Gide, ne l'ébranlent guère. Elle s'éloigne de nous dans son indépendance solitaire, œuvre de transition sans doute par l'inspiration et l'itinéraire qu'elle parcourt; mais œuvre qui, par sa réalisation, reste au premier plan de la littérature de notre temps.

If some of the young, to whom anything published before 1945 could not possibly seem contemporary, are drawn to that considerable body of work by Germaine Brée's arguments, they will find in her detailed study other and more valid reasons for admiring it. And if this proves to be the function of her work, we cannot but applaud again.

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*Histoire littéraire de l'Amérique française.* Par Auguste Viatte. Québec: Presses Universitaires Laval; Paris: Presses Universitaires de France, 1954. Pp. 545.

If *Histoire littéraire de l'Amérique française* were a bad book, even a very bad book, its author would still be entitled to a measure of indulgence on

the part of critics because of the magnitude of his undertaking. But it so happens that Professor Viatte has written an interesting, suggestive and most useful book. Admiration, not indulgence, is in order.

The term *Amérique française* may startle some of Mr. Viatte's English-language readers, partly because this term is not commonly used in the United States, nor in Canada outside the Province of Quebec, but chiefly because it is made to include New England. The truth of the matter is that, as a literary historian, the author is concerned with political and social history only insofar as these affect the literature he surveys. He is careful to point out that his attention is wholly directed to "all human groups" in the Americas "who speak French and whose literature is written in French." In accordance with this premise, he has entitled the various sections of his book: I. Canada; II. Etats-Unis: Louisiane; Nouvelle-Angleterre; III. Haiti; IV. Petites Antilles: Martinique et Guadeloupe. This last section includes a few observations on French Guiana, and on St. Pierre et Miquelon, the small islands on the south coast of Newfoundland which still belong to France. The combined population of these French-speaking and French-writing groups Mr. Viatte estimates at between seven and eight million.

As a matter of fact, except for New England with its one million or more Franco-Americans, all the regions included in the *Histoire littéraire de l'Amérique française* were at some time a part of the French colonial empire. Inevitably, this common origin is reflected in the literatures which subsequently developed there. In other respects, however, geographical, racial, historical and political, the various components of the empire which France established in America in the seventeenth century differ widely from each other, and these differences are also reflected in their respective literatures. The pages in which Professor Viatte describes and analyzes these differences are most enlightening, and the telling quotations from native writers which he has incorporated in his text add immediacy to his observations.

After grouping together, in a brief preliminary chapter, the writings of Frenchmen who visited one or more of the French colonies during the French regime, and who published in France their impressions or the history of these colonies, the author quickly moves into the heart of his subject, namely the growth of indigenous literatures in Canada, Haiti, the Little Antilles, Louisiana and New England. In the case of the first three, Mr. Viatte notes three main periods in their evolution, and these he calls, *Primitive*, *Romantique* and, of course, *Moderne*. These divisions have a familiar ring to students of other American literatures. It might be added that this is not the only point of resemblance between the literatures of the New World, the diversity of their European origin notwithstanding.

Of the five literatures examined in *Histoire littéraire de l'Amérique française*, those of French Canada and Haiti are in the strongest position.



Their future seems assured. It is interesting to learn that Haiti, in spite of the fact that it revolted against France, and that it has been independent for one hundred and fifty years, has always maintained very close relations with France. Throughout the nineteenth century, a very large proportion of Haitian writers were educated in Paris. French-Canadian intellectuals, on the contrary, received their education in Canada, and although most of them managed to get to France, their sojourns there were comparatively short. Moreover, the number of writers from France who settled in the Province of Quebec, after the Cession, is negligible in comparison to the great numbers who went to Haiti, the Little Antilles and Louisiana, and whose works are included in the literature of these regions. In this connection, it is possible to question the validity of Professor Viatte's claim that writers born and bred in France but writing in America are to be considered American writers. That these Frenchmen contributed to the intellectual development of the populations among whom they settled can scarcely be denied. Still, the fact remains that, with few exceptions (Louis Hémon, the author of *Maria Chapdelaine*, is the most striking), their works are those of Frenchmen, not of natives of Canada, Louisiana, Haiti, Martinique or Guadeloupe.

While there is no reason to doubt the vitality of the literature of the Little Antilles, yet the very fact that until 1946 they were French colonies, and are now an integral part of France with representatives in the French Chamber of Deputies, places them in a category other than the one to which French-speaking Canada and Haiti belong. For one thing, intellectual relations between the French West Indies and the mother country have been far closer and far more direct, naturally, than those of even Haiti with France. Besides, as a result of this intimate connection with France and its administrative system, Guadeloupe and Martinique are also in touch with French Equatorial Africa. Considered from the point of view of the African part of these islands' heritage, a heritage which they share with Haiti, contacts with Africa are most important.

With regard to Louisiana, the fact should be borne in mind that the French regime there was much shorter than in Canada or in the Caribbean. Consequently, the French population of Louisiana in 1763, when Spain took over, was just one third (22,000) of the population of Canada at the same date. What is surprising about Louisiana is not that its literature should have been shortlived, but that it should have developed at all. Indeed, it would be hard to find better proof of the vitality and genuineness of the French literary instinct than the considerable number of poems, novels, essays and historical works which were published in French in New Orleans during the nineteenth century, especially between the years 1840 and 1860. Moreover, a deep-seated French cultural tradition still persists today in Louisiana among the intellectuals of French ancestry.

As for the Franco-Americans of New England, the overwhelming majority

of their writers were born and educated in the Province of Quebec. There is no doubt, however, that there is such a thing as a Franco-American mentality which differs in several respects from the French Canadian outlook. But time alone will tell whether this mentality will find expression in works strong enough and numerous enough to insure the growth and the survival of an original literature. The chapter which Mr. Viatte devotes to this question is an excellent summary of the ideals, the preoccupations, the achievements and the doubts of the New England group of French-speaking Americans.

While native writers in the regions included in "French America" will undoubtedly take exception to some of Professor Viatte's judgments, the all important fact remains that his book is bound to broaden the intellectual horizon and the sympathies of those who read it. They will realize anew the importance of poetry and fiction, especially modern fiction, as aids to understanding the character and the aspirations of a foreign nation. The brief but illuminating biographical sketches, the very rich bibliography provided in the foot-notes, and the lengthy index of authors' names, bring home the regrettable fact that too little attention is paid in this country, among others, by scholars and teachers, whether "native French" or American, to the contributions of French-language writers in the Americas.

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## REVIEWS IN BRIEF

*Bibliographie des romans et nouvelles en prose française antérieurs à 1500.* Par Brian Woledge. (Société de Publications Romanes et Françaises, XLII) Genève et Lille: Librairie Droz, 1954. Pp. 181. The field of Mediaeval French bibliography, so long neglected, was provided, in the years 1947-1951, with three bibliographies,<sup>1</sup> each of a different kind, that are basic tools. Woledge has now added a fourth. His long-standing interest in Old French prosifications and his high standard of research<sup>2</sup> made it quite desirable that he be the one to write the present index.

He has listed, in alphabetical order and copiously cross-referenced, 190 French prose works, and provided indices of: manuscripts; printers; authors, works, and literary themes; place names; patrons; abbreviations; addenda. His bibliography is distinguished by its methodical nature, scholarly integrity, exceptional accuracy,<sup>3</sup> and general utility.

For this listing, the word *roman* is taken in its modern sense, despite the difficulties of applying it to mediaeval literature. Excluded are biblical tales, hagiographic literature, *exempla*, and, in general, pious tales; as for (quasi) historical works, the problem of choice has necessarily been a subjective one.

The various items are in alphabetical order of authors or (for *anonyma*) titles. When a subject is represented by several versions hardly separable, it is the title and not the author's name which decides the order. The different versions of a story are generally separated except when the classification of the texts is not sufficiently sure; as much as possible, these different versions are in chronological order.

Under each number are, in order, the following rubrics: *A consulter* (the capital work essential to the study of a romance or a work that provides a summary of preceding studies), *Manuscrits* (in alphabetical order of cities where kept, they include the MLA photostats), *Editions anciennes* (arranged chronologically, all known editions of the 15th, 16th centuries), *Editions modernes* (in chronological order, all those that have appeared since 1800, together with reviews of them), *Date*, *Source*, *Auteur*, and, at times, *Contenu*, *Patrie*, *Voir aussi*. A list is provided (pages 10-11) of the books essential to the study of prose romances.

Woledge's task was almost finished when Bossuat's *Manuel* appeared but he added to his items the appropriate *renvois* to Bossuat. This reveals the fact that over one-third of the 190 items are lacking from the *Manuel*. Numerous corrections, additions, and precisions are, in fact, provided for the works of Bossuat, Doutré-

1. Holmes-Cabeen, *Critical Bibliography of French Literature, I: The Mediaeval Period*, Syracuse, 1947; enlarged edition, 1952; Williams, *An Index of Mediaeval Studies Published in Festschriften*, Berkeley and Los Angeles, 1951; Bossuat, *Manuel bibliographique de la littérature française du moyen âge*, Melun, 1951.

2. See, especially, Bossuat 193, 1388, 2030, 2034, 3812, 3815, 4092, and *Mélanges Roques*, II (Paris, 1953), 313-324.

3. Extensive checking of the order of items, references cited, cross-indexing, etc., reveals only a few errors or inconsistencies, mostly too minor to mention (as Michel and Philippe Lenoir distinguished one from the other in the Index but not always in the Bibliography—see No. 39). Note, however, that the reference to *Doutrepont 36* (No. 22) should read 243; for *Bounay (Guy)* and for *Guy Bounay*, voir N° 74, read 143; for *R. Louis III* (No. 33), read II; for *Brunel, 1922* (No. 85), read 1923; in No. 94, refer to Bossuat 562; Jean Mielot (p. 65) is out of alphabetical order.

pont (*Les Mises en prose des épopées . . .*), and L. Gautier (*Les Epopées françaises*). Attention has been paid to the *MLA Research in Progress* (RIP—which might equally stand for *requiescat in pace*); even editions announced in the old *Work in Progress*, or earlier, are noted. Some readers will find these listings of dubious value for so many promised editions fail to see the light.

Almost inevitable in a work of this nature, there are bound to be some omissions.<sup>4</sup> Thus, we do not find reference to the prose versions of *Guillaume de Palerne*. If Paulmy (*Mélanges tirés d'une grande bibliothèque*, Vol. D [1780], 119–50) is to be believed, he summarizes the story from a fourteenth-century prose MS. Then, in the sixteenth century appeared prose prints from the presses of O. Arnoullet (Lyon, 1552): Arsenal 4° B.L. 4288 and BM C97.b.8; Nicolas Bonfons (Paris, s.d.): Bodleian Douce D232, Harvard \*27283.28.2, BM C97.b.6.<sup>5</sup> No doubt *Landomala* (Wolledge addendum, page 180) would have received separate listing (there is certainly more argument for it than for No. 19) had it come sooner to the compiler's attention. Equally deserving of separate listing is the *Roman de Hector* (see *RPh.*, VII [1954], 143–55). And what of such items as the Spanish *Gran conquista de ultramar* (see Northup, *Hisp. Rev.*, II [1934], 297–302) so important for the study of the French epic? (HARRY F. WILLIAMS, *University of California, Los Angeles*)

*L'Abbé Prévost: L'Homme et l'œuvre.* Par Henri Roddier. Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1955. Pp. 200. Well fortified in background by his extensive previous study of *Jean-Jacques Rousseau en Angleterre* [1950], M. Roddier here offers the reader, within the brief two hundred pages at the author's disposal, an excellent *mise au point* of the Abbé Prévost's checkered career and influential many-volumed works.

The life first, of course. In hardly more than forty rapidly-moving pages, M. Roddier has told us the absorbing story and told it well. It is by no means his fault if in so many cases "les documents font défaut" (p. 23). Utilizing judiciously the specious, if not always reliable testimony of Prévost himself, sifting the gossip, often malicious, but containing perhaps some grains of truth, and drawing upon important research by scholars like the late Mysie Robertson and Mlle Claire-Éliane Engel, M. Roddier has convincingly reconstituted the events and the psychological moods in the life of the too inconstant Abbé—according to all the probabilities of the case.

We see Prévost, within a few short years in England, run the gamut from top to bottom of the social scale, from the flattering esteem of the Archbishop of Canterbury himself for an apparent new convert to Protestantism (pp. 22–23), down to an actual jail sentence for forging the signature of his noble pupil Francis Eyles on a draft for fifty guineas (pp. 33–34). Yet so great was the Abbé's natural charm, the plausibility of his ready self-justification, and perhaps even a basic goodness of character in spite of evident and grievous faults, that neither this criminal misconduct, in that day often leading actually to the gallows, nor his humiliating in-

4. To the Arthurian bibliography given (p. 79) add: Reinhard, "Chrétien de Troyes: A Bibliographical Essay," in *Essays and Studies in English and Comparative Literature by Members of the English Department of the University of Michigan* (Ann Arbor, 1932), 195–231. Add to the reference given (p. 172), K. J. Holzknecht, *Literary Patronage in the Middle Ages*, Philadelphia, 1923.

5. For these, and later editions, see *Romania*, LXXIII (1952), 64–77.

fatuation with the notorious adventuress Lenki Eccart—sordid preview of the idealized story of Des Grieux and the immortal Manon—could prevent him from regaining the favor of his many friends and, after his return to France, an honorable position in society.

How does it happen that the story of *Manon* alone stands out as an authentic work of genius among the many volumes of popular novels dashed off at white heat by the Abbé's facile pen? To this inevitable question and its corollaries, M. Roddier devotes three important chapters. *Manon Lescaut*, he believes, is an autobiography, not of actual events, but of an all-dominant love in the novelist's life. Influenced in some degree by Defoe, by *Les Illustres Françaises* of Robert Challes as adapted in English by Mrs. Penelope Aubin, inspired also by Racine and other literary memories, but above all by his blind devotion to Lenki, Prévost appears to have written the brief volume of *Manon* in a quick ferment of emotion which he was never able to maintain in the long pages of "copy" ground out for his publishers under constant pressure for money to pay the insatiable demands of his mistress. For once, realism, poetry, and a style classic in its concision, but tingling with romantic emotion, united to form one of the brief masterpieces of French literature.

Yet the other novels, especially *Cleveland*, so widely read in the eighteenth century, so much more generally understood in their day than the incomparable *Manon*, may not be wholly passed over with depreciation in ours. M. Roddier, here too, has given us an excellent summary, though perhaps with some unconscious debt to the previous work of Schröder, Le Breton, Chinard, and others.

M. Roddier writes likewise with keen appreciation of Prévost's twenty small volumes in his literary periodical, *Le Pour et Contre*, though here again with hardly the complete newness of factual information and viewpoint which at first appears. The significance of the Abbé's translations of Richardson's *Clarissa Harlowe* and particularly of *Grandison*, his brief, but intelligent editorship of *Le Journal étranger*, and above all his publication of the first fifteen volumes of *L'Histoire générale des voyages* from 1746 to 1759, are discussed with judgment and understanding. Without Prévost's work, Rousseau's, in some important respects, would undoubtedly have been different. Both the *Discourse on Inequality* and some parts of the *Nouvelle Héloïse* owe a significant debt to the former's contributions on the geography and manners of a rapidly expanding globe.

Brunetière has described Prévost's total work as amounting to from 150 to 200 volumes.<sup>1</sup> Even though many of these were small duodecimos and a large number merely translations, yet it is clear what prodigious labor of reading, compilation, turning the pages of dictionaries, and simply of pen scratching on paper, these many volumes must have entailed. Over the thirty-five years of the Abbé's literary activity from 1728 to 1763, this represents an average of four to five volumes every year! It is an average maintained in sickness and in health, in spite of travel, persecutions, and debts, in the midst of harassing love affairs, and no doubt with little of the expensive aid of secretaries such as Voltaire, for example, could so readily command. Yet Rousseau testified in 1751 that the Abbé had none of "le sombre coloris" of his novels (p. 47). His urbanity, his sociability, and his native charm continued unabated. Desfontaines, wrote Voltaire earlier, was only a writer, but Prévost was a man, tempered by the experience of life itself (p. 39).

1. F. Brunetière, *Études critiques sur l'histoire de la littérature française* (5<sup>e</sup> édition, Paris: Hachette, 1904), III, 248.

"L'état de ma fortune ne me permettant point de choisir pour sujet de mon travail tout ce qui demande du temps et de la tranquillité," wrote Prévost in 1735 (p. 41) "je me réduis à ce qui se présente à ma plume de plus simple et de plus agréable." It is useless for us to speculate as to whether, under more favorable financial circumstances, he would have accomplished less or more of permanent literary value. But we can readily understand why, in the midst of such constant harassment as he experienced, only *Manon Lescaut* encountered for a brief moment exactly the right combination of situation and events to allow the flowering of the one unquestioned masterpiece which has survived undimmed throughout the years.

All readers will be greatly indebted to M. Roddier for having said so much about the Abbé Prévost and for having said it so well in small space. (GEORGE R. HAVENS, *Ohio State University*)

*Les Relations intellectuelles de Locke avec la France (D'après des documents inédits).* Par Gabriel Bonno. (University of California Publications in Modern Philology, vol. 38, no. II.) Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1955. Pp. vi + 227. Professor Bonno has previously concentrated his attention on the eighteenth century, studying the relations of Suard and other French writers with their foreign correspondents, as well as the impact of England's culture and political system on France during that period. In the present volume he goes back to the seventeenth century in order to investigate "les apports de la culture française dans le développement des curiosités intellectuelles de Locke et dans la composition de ses ouvrages." The event which permitted him to survey in their entirety the intellectual relations of Locke with France was the acquisition in 1947 by the Bodleian Library of a large number of previously inaccessible private papers of the philosopher. For the writer's purposes they comprise Locke's Journals, which give personal impressions of his travels, his notebooks, largely devoted to his reading, a catalogue of his library, and letters from his French correspondents, chiefly the Bible scholar Nicolas Thoynard, the Protestant Henry Justel, and the more famous Abbé Dubos. The items most significant in tracing the genesis of Locke's masterpiece had already been exploited by historians of philosophy, notably by R. I. Aaron and J. Gibb in their *Early Draft of Locke's Essay, together with Excerpts from his Journals*, to which Professor Bonno frequently refers us. However, it is of great interest to the student of Comparative Literature to learn what an Englishman, who became the acknowledged master of European thought in the following century, himself owed to the contact with earlier French writers, and to seek in this debt a partial explanation of Locke's own later vogue in France. It is, therefore, somewhat disappointing to find that the contacts systematically studied by Professor Bonno do not go back further than 1675, the year of Locke's arrival in France at the mature age of forty-three, although it is admitted that he was familiar with Descartes' principal works by 1660. Chronologically the study falls into four main sections, namely Locke's stay in France from 1675 to 1679, his correspondence with French friends after his departure, his relations with French thought and writings during his exile in Holland from 1683 to 1689, and the evidence of French influences on his published works.

The first thing that strikes the reader is that in these contacts the preoccupations of the philosopher played but a minor part beside those of the physician, the scientist, and the scholar. We are impressed with the scope of his interest in a great



variety of activities, a universality still found among some of the greater minds of the eighteenth century, but increasingly difficult to encounter in modern times. In addition to his predilection for biblical scholarship, astronomy, navigation, and various useful inventions, Locke appears, in the bustling, lively atmosphere of Paris, to have fallen an easy prey to the contemporary infatuation with travel literature and to have cultivated an interest in the more solid achievements of *la cuisine française*. More important, his correspondence offers us an opportunity to follow the very modest beginnings of an international vogue such as has rarely been enjoyed by a philosopher, although our curiosity is not altogether satisfied on the score of his relations with Pierre Bayle and with his French translator Pierre Coste. The book affords us a glimpse into a society where Frenchmen and foreigners mingled with ease and without chauvinism, freely exchanging ideas in a manner hitherto associated more with the Age of Enlightenment than with the *Grand Siècle*. With its minute recording of these exchanges and its complete listing of the French books acquired by Locke for his library, the present work constitutes a valuable starting point for future students investigating further facets of possible French influences on the philosopher's writings.

Of greater interest to the general reader are Locke's reactions, recorded in his Journals and Notebooks, to the most original French minds of his century, and although the stimulus given to his thought by Descartes has been examined many times before, Professor Bonno sums up ably the present state of research on this problem. He sheds some further light on the much debated question of the extent to which Locke's association in Paris with the physician and orientalist François Bernier contributed to the influence exerted on his philosophic masterpiece by Gassendi's thought. We also learn some interesting and less well known facts regarding Locke's reaction to Malebranche and his debt to Pascal, in particular to the style and imaginative power of the *Pensées*.

These important points of contact are sometimes hard to follow in the main body of Professor Bonno's book, being, as it were, buried among matters of lesser importance. The organization of the study into information derived from Locke's Journals, Notebooks, correspondence, and published works makes it difficult to survey his relations with any one French thinker at a glance, and frequently necessitates a good deal of repetition. However, in a fine concluding chapter, Professor Bonno sums up the impact of individual writers on Locke and succeeds in showing that while the most enduring aspects of his work were essentially his own, he did owe much of his general knowledge of the world, the breadth of his outlook, and the wide range of his interests to seventeenth-century France. (PAUL H. MEYER, *University of Connecticut*)

Fontenelle: *Entretiens sur la pluralité des mondes; Digression sur les anciens et les modernes*. Edited by Robert Shackleton. London: Clarendon University Press, 1955. Pp. 218. Up to this moment, critical editions of but two of Fontenelle's works have appeared. The first of these is J.-R. Carré's edition of *De l'origine des fables*, and the second, L. Maigrón's *Histoire des oracles*. Now we have, attractively presented under one cover, the almost equally important *Entretiens* and the *Digression*. Only the first of these has any pretense of being a critical edition, however, and doubtless Professor Shackleton wanted it that way. Indeed there is reason to believe, as the notes so often seem to demonstrate, that the volume is a reedition

of two of Fontenelle's works prepared, in considerable measure, for the English-speaking university student of French. At times the notes fall below this level as, for instance, when we are informed that it was common practice in the seventeenth century for the French conjunctive pronoun directly to precede the modal auxiliary rather than the following infinitive, or that Mme de La Fayette was author of the *Princesse de Clèves*. One has the impression, moreover, that Professor Shackleton is here better informed of the scientific movement of ideas of the seventeenth century than of the eighteenth. (He does, however, confuse the date of Halley's comet of 1682 with Bayle's famous comet of 1680.) The editor suggests occasional reechoes or extensions of Fontenelle's ideas among eighteenth-century writers, but the examples chosen are relatively unimpressive by comparison with those entirely ignored. To name one, D'Holbach, for whom the editor seems to have a marked predilection, is alone presented as the French eighteenth-century defender of spontaneous generation (p. 36) or the advocate of "something like a primitive theory of evolution" (p. 39) while more important names, Diderot and Buffon among others, are passed over in silence.

To this reader, at least, Professor Shackleton's Introduction is, in general, quite another story. There is much of value and interest here for the student of the history of ideas as the intellectual background of the age, with stress on its scientific interests, is agreeably and succinctly presented. Fontenelle's merits, shortcomings, and the evolution of his ideas as they revolve around the *Entretiens*, are particularly well handled. This in itself represents a distinct contribution to scholarship.

Of even greater significance are certain specific additions to our knowledge of the *Entretiens*. Brief mention of two will sufficiently illustrate the point. The first has to do with a table of the collected editions and all the separate editions of the *Entretiens* that had appeared during the writer's lifetime. Once the table has been established, we are given a clear indication of the extraordinary success of the work both in France and abroad. Furthermore, the editor has been able to prove that the Dutch and English editions are not only generally inferior to the French editions, but, for the most part, textually worthless. While affording some sixty-five variations for purposes of collation, the enumerated editions also bear testimony to the fact that the *Entretiens* offer an exceptional case for the period in that, despite boldness of content, they were published openly and with royal privilege in France and, from 1698 onwards, under Fontenelle's own name. The choice of the 1742 edition for reproduction here, has been convincingly made on the grounds that it is "the purest form of the final text."

The second significant contribution pertains to the reopening of an old question, that of Bishop Wilkins' influence on the Fontenelle of the *Entretiens*. Fontenelle's eighteenth-century biographer, Trublet, supported by such scholars as Maigron and Carré in the twentieth, had maintained that the writer of the *Entretiens* was in no way indebted to the author of the *Discovery of a New World*. The editor succeeds in casting grave doubt on such a conclusion.

We are told that the *Digression* is included in the present volume "partly because of the light it throws on the relationship between the 'Battle of the Books' and Cartesian philosophy, and partly because this agreeable and revealing work has not . . . been represented since 1825." This may be sufficient reason for its inclusion here. One might wish, however, that the editor had presented the text with some of the same thoughtfulness and care which had been applied to the *Entretiens*.

Besides an index, the volume comprises a highly selective bibliography in which, for instance, Katherine B. Collier's *Cosmogonies of our fathers* (New York, 1934) does not appear. Miss Collier's book is, perhaps, a cumbersome study, but one which might well have been useful, especially because of its almost indispensable bibliography, for such a volume as Professor Shackleton has himself presented. (O. F.)

*French Inventions of the Eighteenth Century.* By Shelby T. McCloy. Lexington: University of Kentucky Press, 1952. Pp. viii + 212. The French eighteenth century has repeatedly been studied from one specific point of view or another: philosophy and religious thought, science, literature and the arts, women and salons, economics or government, to name but a few. And the study of each has, of course, contributed to further understanding of the whole. In turn, an American professor of history, Mr. Shelby T. McCloy, has chosen as his particular field of investigation French inventive genius during the Enlightenment. We have this scholar's word for the fact that there has hitherto been no book in English covering the subject and none, even in French, treating all its aspects.

The present volume in no way pretends to be an exhaustive treatise, but rather a survey of the whole field including a readable account of what strikes the author as "all inventions worthy of description." In some 200 pages, copiously illustrated and carefully documented, Professor McCloy has been surprisingly successful in doing just this as, in a dozen chapters with titles such as "The Balloon," "Lighting," "Textiles," "Automata," "Military Inventions," and "Medicine and Surgery," facts, names and incidents are woven into the sweep of the period under consideration. There is often, though not always, lively reading here, as the ingeniously inventive mind of the French is shown at its best, or at least at its most persistent. Time and again in these pages the student of the eighteenth century may find a point of departure, perhaps insufficiently indicated in many cases, for new topics of research whether literary, sociological, philosophical or economic. Then too, more than one added glimmer of light is shed on fields of investigation already conscientiously treated by others. It is, thus, an informative, useful little volume, and this despite certain shortcomings.

The style is rarely distinguished, the word "unfortunately" recurs throughout with wearisome monotony, and gallicisms have a way of creeping into the English paraphrase or translation. The *Moniteur universel* and a few technical journals of the period are drawn on for occasional facts or background material, but the more stimulating accounts of inventions that may be found in the *Journal des savants*, *Mercure de France* and *Journal de Trévoux* were, quite obviously, not consulted. There is, as a matter of fact, considerable reason to believe that Professor McCloy has a trait in common with a sizeable number of academic historians, that of seldom if ever consulting with easily accessible colleagues in French literature. It was only quite by accident, it seems, that the author learned from one of these latter of Père Castel's ocular harpsichord. Once having had it called to his attention, he considers it, "the most interesting eighteenth-century musical invention" (p. 131). Interesting it is, to be sure, but an invention that is unfamiliar to very few who deal with French letters in the Enlightenment. Mr. McCloy could also have been told of Buffon's rather remarkable invention of the echeloned lenses as well as that of the still more sensational burning mirrors which, in dramatic public experiment, har-

nessed the sun's rays to great effect—a principle that is being put to practical use in both twentieth-century France and America. Moreover, if the writer seems weak on Lavoisier, he appears more so on the *philosophes* who are relegated to a handful of scanty remarks in the concluding chapter. We are told (p. 193), "Diderot made few allusions in his writings to inventions." One might wonder what these allusions are. Was Mr. McCloy thinking, for instance, of Diderot's project for a new type of organ capable of playing a number of parts at once by means of a cylinder over which a perforated roll is passed (*Mémoires sur différents sujets de mathématiques*)? If so, he makes no mention of it. Indeed, it is stated (p. 195) that, "The writings on science and invention by the *philosophes* were negligible in comparison to the output by other writers, as may be seen by turning the pages of Quérard or any other guide to French literary productivity of the century." But whether or not Mr. McCloy has established a proper criterion, excusing his neglect of the *philosophes* might easily provide subject matter for another book. (O. F.)

*Leibniz in France from Arnauld to Voltaire: A Study in French Reactions to Leibnizianism, 1670-1760.* By W. H. Barber. London: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. xi + 276. More and more, the significance of Leibniz in the making of the modern mind emerges. His impact in the twentieth century has already been indicated in the symbolic logic of modern mathematics and in the currently revolutionizing field of thought machines. Mr. Barber's book deals with a worthy subject: the effect of Leibniz' thought in France from 1670 to 1760. The ramifications of the philosophy of Leibniz—who was indeed one of the rare universal thinkers—into the eighteenth century were, of course, very broad. He exerted a distinctly positive influence among men of science in the Enlightenment. His importance lay not only in the field of mathematics but in the science of life, as well. His principle of continuity, for example, affected evolutionary thought in the eighteenth century, particularly among men like Maupertuis, Buffon and Bonnet. Diderot's interest in Leibniz' philosophy led, as we are aware, to his transformation of Leibniz' metaphysical monadology into a physical conception of the atom.

Notwithstanding, Mr. Barber broaches upon a field of study that has not been treated seriously before. His study is based on the interesting ambivalence that exists in Leibniz' position as exponent of the new science and adherent to traditional theology. Beginning with a brief summary of Leibniz' critique of Descartes, Mr. Barber proceeds to a discussion of Leibniz' relations with the great Arnauld and his effort to bring about a reunion of the Protestant and Catholic Churches. Arnauld considered Leibniz closer to the Catholic Church than any other important German Lutheran. But in spite of his desire to reach agreement with Arnauld through mutual concession, Leibniz felt compelled to write: "Aussitôt qu'on s'écarte tant soit peu du sentiment de quelques Docteurs, ils éclatent en foudres et tonnerres," when Arnauld attacked the important logical principle contained in the thirteenth proposition of Leibniz' *Discours de Métaphysique*.

In his discussion of Malebranche, Mr. Barber appears to falter somewhat by making a Scholastic of Malebranche; it would seem that he also neglects the point that it was with reference to Malebranche that Leibniz first stated his law of continuity which was so important in the development of calculus.

Mr. Barber's book would tend to make Bayle and Voltaire the two major figures in France associated with Leibniz. Nevertheless, one might disagree with the

author's dismissal of Diderot's interest in Leibniz as minor and hostile. Not only does Diderot's notion of the continuity of nature go back to Leibniz, but as Cassirer, Lippol and Lefebvre have suggested, Diderot's materialism is an inverted statement of Leibnizian idealism. (Cf. Diderot's *Pensées sur l'interprétation de la nature*.)

In his *Dictionnaire philosophique*, Bayle criticizes the Leibnizian theory of pre-established harmony and the notion of spontaneous changes occurring in the monads, and remains unconvinced by Leibniz' later replies. On the other hand, Bayle's critique of rationalism is the occasion for Leibniz' writing the *Theodicy*. In Mr. Barber's view, the root of disagreement between Bayle and Leibniz lies in their different ideas on the nature and meaning of freedom and in the differing importance each gave to the empirical and rationalistic methods. Bayle's idea of freedom, generally, was the so-called "freedom of indifference"; for Leibniz "liberty . . . is the ability to act in any situation in the way that one feels to be for the best, that is, most according to one's own nature, and without external constraint" (p. 86). Bayle's doubts arise from his "factual" approach to the problems of reason and faith; Leibniz' confidence, from a steady, aprioristic belief in an incomprehensible absolute.

It is Voltaire's attack on Leibniz' metaphysics and theology that remains impressed in our minds today. Throughout his career, Voltaire's contempt for theology, his distrust of metaphysics and his admiration for English thought set him against the great master of German metaphysics. Voltaire is treated by Mr. Barber more extensively than any other French figure in his book, for Mr. Barber considers that "Voltaire alone in France is deeply and continuously involved in the Leibnizian controversies" (xi) and that, in general, Voltaire dominates the eighteenth-century scene. While one might differ with Mr. Barber's enthusiasm for Voltaire's pre-eminence in the Enlightenment, the subject of Voltaire and Leibniz is certainly one that ought finally to be written about in a definitive way. Mr. Barber can only satisfy partially here. His discussion of the subject is limited to: (1) "Voltaire and Leibnizian Metaphysics"; (2) "The Problem of Freedom"; and (3) "Voltaire and Optimism." Had Mr. Barber chosen to treat the subject chronologically, by showing the continuity of the three phases of Voltaire's career and the relationship of Leibniz to the persistence of Voltaire's ideas, a more rounded and unified analysis might have been developed. As it is, Mr. Barber really does not show the conflict between the ideas Voltaire inherited from the English deists and Leibniz' metaphysics. His interpretation of *Zadig* might have been different had he linked it with the previous development of Voltaire's thought. The nature of the *conte* does not make Voltaire's own position immediately clear, but an examination of the chapter "L'Ermite" related to Voltaire's previous references to specific subjects raised by *Zadig* and *Jesrad* provides the necessary evidence. Since the hermit was a representative of the supernatural and his opinions on every matter under discussion represent the point of view of Leibniz or of Pope and include several that Voltaire had previously rejected publicly, the opinion that his thoughts on the problem of evil are those of Voltaire should not be so seductive.

Although Mr. Barber's book does not exhaust the subject—what one-volume work could?—such focussing upon the original eighteenth-century material pertaining to Leibniz in France will be welcome. Studies developing Leibniz' relations with eighteenth-century French science, his significance in the philosophy of



Diderot, and a definitive work on Voltaire and Leibniz would fill some of the gaps of this book and would certainly seem to be not only possible but worthwhile contributions as well. (RICHARD BROOKS, *Columbia University*)

*Chénier: L'Homme et l'œuvre.* Par Jean Fabre. (Connaissance des Lettres, no. 42.) Paris: Hatier-Boivin, 1955. Pp. 240. This little book is the first general study of Chénier's life and work to appear in over fifty years. (M. Fabre alludes, in his bibliography, to "l'extrême rareté des études érudites et critiques consacrées à Chénier" p. 232.) Though the work done by Paul Dimoff and more recently by Gérard Walter is of great and fundamental importance, neither has given us the complete Chénier: the man and the whole of his work. The complete Chénier is the aim of Jean Fabre in the present volume.

The time is certainly ripe for a reappraisal of the position of this one significant French poet of the eighteenth century. As Fabre notes quite justly, the writers who judged Chénier toward the end of the last century had too much the tendency "à estimer—et mésestimer—la poésie de Chénier selon des critères parnassiens" (p. 185). Elsewhere he remarks on the change in taste which makes it possible now for us to appreciate even the run-of-the-mill poets of the late eighteenth century: "Pour les vers, presque autant que pour le mobilier et l'architecture, 'le style Louis XVI' est d'un plus sûr attrait que, par exemple, 'le style 1900.' Un amateur de poésie sera tenté de préférer le 'suranné' de Léonard au 'démodé' de Samain. Mais cette préférence suffit-elle à la gloire de Chénier?" (p. 148). What Fabre proposes to decide is whether Chénier is merely the best literary exemplar of the "style Louis XVI" or whether he is more, a really great poet of the type that he himself would have called an *inventeur*. How well has he succeeded?

Nearly half of the book (pp. 6-110) is devoted to a straightforward and readable biography of Chénier. This is useful, in fact necessary, though Fabre has nothing new to contribute to our knowledge of Chénier's life. Dimoff's biography (most of the first volume of *La Vie et l'œuvre d'André Chénier jusqu'à la Révolution française*, Paris: 1936, 2 vols.) is extremely complete and thoroughly documented, as far as it goes, but because of Dimoff's self-imposed limitation, the very important last part of Chénier's life is omitted. Gérard Walter's biography (Paris, 1947) furnishes a well-documented study of Chénier during the Revolution, but it has been accused (with some justification) of a political slant that damages its objectivity. Fabre's biographical pages are clear, objective and sufficiently complete.

His study of Chénier as a poet begins with an examination of the esthetic theories—and here he brings in sharper relief than had been done before their inconsistencies and their confusion. He shows that if we try to find in *L'Invention* an *ars poetica* of the traditional sort, we are in for a disappointment, but that if we take it for what it really is—a sort of epistle by the poet to himself, composed of passages written at different periods and with differing sources of inspiration—we will find it a moving document, containing great beauties of detail. The language, the imagery, the versification of Chénier are Fabre's next concern. As he points out, very little has been done on this aspect of the author of *L'Aveugle*, and, as is quite natural in a book of this brevity, the matter can be treated only summarily. What Fabre has to say here is suggestive, and may stimulate scholars to the further investigation so much needed.

Then follows a rather detailed examination of the idylls, the "bucolic" poetry



imitated from Greek or Latin (and Fabre is careful to avoid the error of many of his predecessors who have called these works mere construction of marquetry and who charge Chénier, because of them, with a lack of "originality"); the projected didactic poems and the state in which they were left; the elegies (and the reason for their relative mediocrity); and then the final lyric outburst of odes and iambics.

It can be said that Fabre brings out more incisively than has been done before certain essential characteristics of Chénier: the fragmentary and discontinuous nature of his inspiration, the fact that though he was lyric by nature, he continually attempted to force himself to be didactic (Chénier himself would have said "epic"). "L'art du poète, dans ce qu'il avait de systématique et de concerté, risquait de compromettre les découvertes de son génie" (pp. 186-87). This explains why, until the violent emotions unleashed by the Revolution drove him to give free expression to his lyric vein, his only real successes were beautiful fragments, unfinished except in a few cases. It is by no means certain that finishing them would have improved them. Chénier apparently had the intention of "finishing" one of the most exquisite of his idylls, *Néaere*, in such a way that it would have been spoiled (see p. 186). As for the most "finished" of his idylls, *L'Aveugle*, it is the happy result of a more or less fortuitous patching up of an uncompleted poem by the addition of a fragment (the Battle of the Centaurs and the Lapiths) composed with a quite different intention.

Fabre ends his study of Chénier's poetry by showing how intention and inspiration reached a harmonious conjunction in the odes inspired by "Fanny" (especially, the *Ode à Versailles*), and the *Iambes*.

All this is excellent; it utilizes all previous critical and scholarly studies of Chénier's work, and supplements this material with sound and penetrating analyses. One reproach may, however, be addressed to the author of this book—and it may explain why Chénier has been so little studied in our century: he is a peculiarly difficult poet to judge and classify. Although Fabre promised to decide whether or not Chénier belongs to the family of the great *inventeurs*, his conclusion—"il est des œuvres plus parfaites ou plus sublimes; aucune autre ne donne au même degré le sentiment d'une présence, l'illusion d'un visage ami" (p. 231)—interesting as it is, is personal rather than objective, and certainly leaves still to be determined—for it really never has been determined—the exact position of André Chénier in the Pantheon of French poets.

The book is concluded with an excellent analytical bibliography, but has no index. (HENRY A. GRUBBS, Oberlin College)

*Un Cosmopolite suisse: Jacques-Henri Meister (1744-1826)*. Par Yvonne de Athayde de Grubenmann. Genève: Droz, 1954. Pp. 177. Near the beginning of his charming preface to this monograph, M. Charles Dédéyan writes: "Il fallait en effet nous présenter une étude complète et méthodique de cet admirable agent de liaison intellectuelle que fut Jacques Henri Meister." Assuming that the need for such a study exists, there is no question in my mind that this book falls far short of filling the bill. Senhora Grubenmann, who is a professor at the Colégio de Pedro II in Rio de Janeiro, proposes to rehabilitate the literary reputation of Meister. In itself this could possibly have proven to be a worthwhile aim, but unfortunately she has chosen to approach her goal almost solely at the expense of Meister's predecessor at the editorial helm of the *Correspondance littéraire*, Melchior Grimm. In-

stead of confining herself to Meister's articles written for this gazette (of which he was editor from 1773 until 1813) and his published works (of which a score are available), the author has concentrated on a comparison of limited scope of the critical abilities of Grimm and Meister; a significant by-product of this process is to discredit the former.

Senhora Grubenmann succeeds in situating Meister properly as an important member of that cosmopolitan group which was largely responsible for the widespread cultivation of French culture abroad during the second half of the eighteenth century. The ten pages of her introduction are appropriate and to the point. One wishes that she had concerned herself in the body of her study exclusively with "le talent de Meister . . . si riche, si personnel, son œuvre originale et variée. . . ." (p. 25). Approximately half the book is devoted to a biographical study of her subject which is sketchy, characterized by many inaccuracies and nothing new. The reader of P. O. Bessire's brief "life and works" treatment published in 1912 had the essentials, which have since been woven into a thoroughly delightful "romance" published in Zurich in 1936 by Mary Lavater-Sloman. It is surprising that Senhora Grubenmann, who by her own admission undertook "de nombreuses recherches" in Switzerland where Meister's papers are preserved, discovered no significant information to add to earlier biographies. For example, she had access to the fifty-six manuscript volumes of the diary of Meister's father and chose to reproduce only one dull sample, in no way connected with her subject, which the reader can readily believe was selected, as she states, "au hasard."

The author actually comes to grips with the subject of Meister's critical abilities only in the twenty-one pages of Chapter VII. Otherwise she is engaged, in the second half of her study, in comparing Grimm and Meister as critics of Shakespeare, or of tragedy in seventeenth-century France, or in discussing their attitudes toward religion. Senhora Grubenmann is apparently bitterly disappointed to discover that Grimm was a materialist and after the somewhat ingenuous statement that "Sa religion, tant celle qu'il enseigne que celle qu'il pratique, est très difficile à définir" (p. 111), she delivers herself on the following page of her conclusion that "Le but que poursuit Grimm est de séparer l'idée de la morale de celle de la religion." The author does not undertake to reconcile the free ways of the young Meister during his Paris years (she refers to him at this period as "notre libertin") with the painful piety of his later life in Switzerland where he married his widowed childhood sweetheart. If Senhora Grubenmann had examined the extant letters of Madame de Vandeul to Meister, she could hardly have described them as "toute une liasse d'interminables lettres d'amoureuse" (p. 39). Her assumption that Diderot's daughter might have taken the place of Germaine de Vermeux in Meister's affection seems similarly without foundation.

Senhora Grubenmann is frequently guilty of quoting secondary sources (e.g., pp. 32, 139, 170); she cites without explanation copies of published material (pp. 63, 64, 80); she removes passages from context to make them fit her particular thesis (compare especially her discussion of Grimm's "Catéchisme" on p. 112 with the full text, *Correspondance littéraire*, ed. Tourneux, II, 496); she makes sweeping generalities with little or no basis, e.g., p. 101: "En parcourant les longues missives que pendant vingt années il envoie dans tous les pays de l'Europe, le lecteur averti se laisse convaincre de ce fait: Grimm n'y montre aucune sympathie à l'égard de la France, Grimm n'aime point la France" or, p. 107, after seven rather pointless

pages summarizing Grimm's judgments, "Voilà ce que Grimm pense de la France, de ses écrivains, et de ses grands hommes, de sa langue et de ses institutions." In short, this monograph is not complete, it is not methodical and, unfortunately, it is not accurate. (JOSEPH R. SMILEY, *University of Illinois*)

*Duranty (1833-1880): Etude biographique et critique.* Par Louis Edouard Tabary. Préface et essai bibliographique de Maurice Parturier. Paris: Les Belles Lettres, 1954. Pp. 225. Professor Tabary's study is the first full-length presentation of Duranty, critic and author of the Second Empire and one of the minor realists who, with Champfleury and Courbet, helped to bring the movement to life. He died young and showed little talent in most of what he did, but as he was perhaps the first to try to define the new realism, he no doubt merits the critical attention given him here. A *Préface* by Maurice Parturier introduces the book. Parturier urges that, while Duranty's definition of realism was much too narrow, it did tend in the right direction. His novels, the *Préface* frankly admits, will never be widely read; but Parturier hopes even so that Tabary's study will mark the starting point for further research on Duranty. His name is mentioned now and then by the greater men who so completely overshadow him today: it is certainly convenient to have this book which helps to define his role, his aspirations, and his theories. It remains painfully true, however, that Duranty's mediocrity in every area makes him an unrewarding subject for even this much scholarly labor.

Duranty's acknowledged masters were Courbet, Champfleury, and Diderot. In one domain after another he sought to combine what he learned from them into a viable and coherent form. He dabbled in literary criticism, the novel, puppetry, the short story, the theater, art criticism, and art history. Only a genius could have succeeded in so many areas, and Duranty was not a genius. He does have some importance, though, as the founder and editor of the review *Réalisme* (1856), as a possible influence in turning Zola from romanticism toward the new school, and as an art critic who gave support and encouragement to certain aspects of impressionism.

As a man of letters Duranty does not have an imposing stature. He did seem to understand the need to break from romanticism, but in 1856 this did not require a towering intellect. He showed greater perception in sensing that Champfleury was opening a new and fertile domain. He was also right in allying the budding movement to its predecessors before romanticism. But Duranty's weakness as a critic of realism shows in his rejection of Balzac and Flaubert in favor of *Paul et Virginie*, *Robinson Crusoe*, and Paul de Kock. Duranty was wrong in limiting his esthetic to "le réalisme de la sincérité" and, even within this narrowed pale, he was ill equipped to distinguish the true from the shoddy. His colossal errors necessarily reduce the interest of Tabary's study. Like some of his great contemporaries, he was among the first to wish writers to reproduce the sensation of the object itself, but he was naive in believing that style was unimportant and that a concern with it was perhaps almost harmful, and he was silly and unjust in proscribing poetry absolutely. Tabary is undoubtedly right in terming his literary criticism "inexplicable."

His novels are no better. Tabary does urge that they have better composition and psychology than those of Champfleury, on which they are modelled. Like Champfleury, Duranty enjoys telling of the follies and errors of average people,

but he carefully eschews crudity, personalism, and documentation. His novels are destroyed, however, by his deliberate rejection of any effort at art, by the presence of too many useless details, and by a stultifying insistence on reproducing reality without any moral significance. Tabary seeks for Duranty's sources (Stendhal, Balzac, the eighteenth century), but concludes that he never succeeded in finding readers during his lifetime and will not find many today. He is more significant as a defender of realism than as a realistic novelist.

As an art critic he enjoyed a certain importance. Tabary, who is as much at home in art history as he is in literary by-ways, makes ingenious use of Duranty's novel *Louis Martin* to illuminate his more directly critical role and to help in establishing and formulating Duranty's theories. He opposed academism and stood as the apostle of modern art, but here too, alas, his limitations are as important as his perceptions. He saw the useful and the true as the only bases for painting; the beautiful and the agreeable he rejected as inferior. *La Nouvelle Peinture* (1876) is perhaps Duranty's one claim to respect; in it he noted with real prescience a number of the painters who were only much later to be acclaimed by the general public. The esthetic he vaunted fitted easily into the painting of Degas (the direct influence of Degas has even been claimed—erroneously, Tabary feels); it was less suited to the other impressionists and has been seen as dealing them a body blow. Also, Duranty failed wholly to recognize the excellence of Monet, Sisley, Pissarro, and Renoir, and on the contrary found Fantin-Latour the ideal artist. Not even as art critic is he really great and Tabary can plead only that, had Duranty lived longer, he might have had a great career before him in this domain. A few pages later, though, Tabary notes that "l'esthétique de Duranty s'adressait plutôt à un artiste moyen, sincère, naïf, attaché à la reproduction de scènes familières de son temps . . ." (p. 166). Is this the role of a great art critic?

In sum Tabary offers little of Duranty's own that captures the imagination or demands respect. He finds little to suggest that Duranty had an influence on anyone except perhaps Zola. (It appears to lie outside Tabary's scope to do more than note this possibility. Why?) His only claim to attention, then, is that he may have indicated the route to be followed. Tabary closes his study with a sentence of refreshing candor: "Entre les cimes, les dépressions s'étendent et notre paysage littéraire ne serait pas complet sans un aperçu sur ces vallées où tant de contemporains ont lutté" (p. 170).

The last pages list the works consulted and offer a most useful bibliography of Duranty's works by Parturier. (B. F. BART, *University of Michigan*)

*Lengua y estilo de Eça de Queiroz. I: Elementos básicos.* Por Ernesto Guerra Da Cal. Coimbra: Acta Universitatis Conimbrigensis, 1954. Pp. ix + 391. El primer tomo de este extraordinario estudio del Profesor Ernesto Guerra Da Cal sobre Eça de Queiroz es una demostración brillante de lo que pueden lograr los modernos métodos de la investigación estilística al servicio del buen gusto y orientados por un conocimiento firme de la historia literaria. Su mérito excepcional sobrepasa aún más si uno no olvida que el estilo del Artista portugués, misterio de los misterios de su genio, solía catalogarse de filtro indefinible e inefable, irreducible a un análisis completo y . . . útil.

Al emprender su tarea el autor se halló frente a tres dificultades principales: la relativa extensión de la obra queiroziana (30 volúmenes); una bibliografía que, hace siete años, contaba cerca de 800 libros y estudios largos además de unos 4.000

artículos, según testimonio del hijo superviviente del escritor; y, sobre todo, la complejidad y trascendencia del tema, agudamente sugeridas por la ecuación ideal propuesta en el ensayo de Fidelino de Figueiredo "A Arte é Estilo (Exemplo: Eça de Queiroz)."

En primer lugar el Profesor Da Cal hace incidir su investigación sobre toda la obra del gran novelista, incluyendo cuentos, ensayos, crónicas y hasta la correspondencia, con la única excepción de las cartas íntimas de *Eça de Queiroz entre os seus* (Oporto, 1949). Aunque las razones de este criterio son perfectamente defendibles en este caso, quizá no hubiera sido superfluo justificarlas en la "Introducción," que, por otra parte, formula los problemas de la crítica queirociana en general y de los límites de la investigación estilística en particular. Sobre este último punto el autor insiste, con sagacidad y moderación, que la pesquisa sistemática del estilo, aunque no deba creerse suficiente para desentrañar el "quid divinum" del fenómeno artístico, puede aclarar mucho del mecanismo implícito en la definición de Flaubert: "Le style est autant sous les mots que dans les mots. C'est autant l'âme que la chair d'une œuvre."

En cuanto al inventario de la bibliografía queirociana luso-brasileña y extranjera, su formación, aportes y lagunas principales, es la primera tentativa de sistematización del problema. Reducir materia tan vasta y caótica a una docena de páginas exige disciplina y un vigoroso poder de síntesis, virtudes que el autor prueba poseer en sumo grado. Sin embargo, es comprensible que la tiranía de la concisión haya perjudicado un poco este resumen bibliográfico. Se podrá argüir razonablemente contra la mención de ciertos trabajos y el olvido de otros. Entre éstos puede destacarse el desmenuzante análisis estilístico del principio del cuento "Civilização," capítulo de la obra de Wolfgang Kayser, *Fundamentos da interpretação e da análise literária*, II, Coimbra, 1948, págs 168-81 (no aparece en las ediciones alemana y española). Por otro lado, el Profesor Da Cal anuncia la inminente publicación de su *Bibliografia metódica y crítica de Eça de Queiroz* que seguramente aclarará los detalles de su criterio selectivo.

Delimitado el marco del análisis subsecuente con un corto capítulo dedicado a la prosa portuguesa pre-queirociana (quizá hubiera sido justificable explorar la posibilidad del influjo de la poesía lusitana sobre el novelista), comienza la construcción sólida y armoniosa de la pesquisa estilística. Ahora, después de la apretadísima concisión de las primeras veinte páginas, ya no cabe apuntar más faltas que las erratas. Entramos firmemente en el terreno virgen de la obra maestra y precursora.

Para los que sienten el encanto insuperable del estilo de Eça de Queiroz "la disección" de su lengua presupone una sensibilidad erudita, fruto de aquella respetable y detestable competencia que el mismo Eça atribuía a Brunetière, "botánico de las letras," o bien un estado de tensión crítica que nos hace pensar en las cuerdas que salvaron a Ulises de las sirenas. Excepcionalmente, el Profesor Da Cal ha demostrado cómo la sensibilidad estética puede superar el más riguroso deslinde lingüístico. Para conseguirlo evitó siempre los gongorismos "científicos," buscando la sencillez expositiva dentro de la máxima economía de expresión. Todo ello, naturalmente, sin caer nunca en el impresionismo improvisado. A través de todo el libro resalta una luminosa sobriedad verbal capaz de traducir y sugerir los múltiples matices de las percepciones del crítico, y una capacidad, igualmente brillante, de separar, graduar e integrar los elementos del análisis en una fórmula perfectamente natural y consistente.

Después de definir el ideal estético de Eça de Queiroz, las coordenadas externas



e internas de su obra y las raíces de su concentrada elocuencia *expresiva*, el Profesor Da Cal explica e interpreta, sistemática y progresivamente, todos los ingredientes de toda la prosa del Artista lusitano. A lo largo de páginas magistrales, hábilmente centradas en el panorama literario que va de Horacio a Valle-Inclán, vemos el proceso formativo y evolutivo de la lengua queirociana desde el sustantivo al verbo y de la frase corta a las grandes estructuras plurimetres. Pero esta disección minuciosa, orientada por una comprensión íntima del gran escritor y por una visión amplia y clara de sus problemas estilísticos, está subordinada a un sentido estético tan fino y trascendente que lo anima todo.

Se trata, indudablemente, de una obra modelo en perspectiva y desenvolvimiento, precursora como crítica en extensión y profundidad, definitiva en la investigación que se propone realizar. Sus limitaciones, si es lícito mencionarlás, resultan del esfuerzo de condensar muchos años de estudio en pocas páginas. Lo que debe subrayarse es el hecho de que el Profesor Da Cal no sólo ha realizado su intento de sacar a Eça de Queiroz de su perímetro tradicional luso-brasileño, (demostrando su importancia como adelantado del Modernismo y sugiriendo la extensión de su influencia en las letras de lengua española), sino que ha logrado establecer e iluminar por primera vez, sobre el mapa universal de la literatura, las premisas del significado histórico del estilo queirociano: "Quizá se podría decir, *mutatis mutandis*, que desde que Cervantes, en otro momento de crisis cultural, realizó una fusión semejante del estilo tradicional español con las formas artístico-literarias del Renacimiento italiano, no se había producido un fenómeno semejante en la prosa de las literaturas ibéricas" (pág. 363).

Considerando que las personalidades culturales cuyas patrias son España y Portugal siguen todavía más o menos como las veía Alcalá Galiano hace un siglo; "atadas codo con codo y espalda con espalda; muy unidas sí, pero sin llegar a verse nunca," el libro del Profesor Da Cal, manifestación de un hispanismo esclarecido y fecundo, constituye un espléndido ejemplo y una esperanza. Es además, y el segundo tomo no dejará de confirmarlo, uno de los más sólidos y bellos monumentos de la crítica estilística contemporánea. (ALBERTO MACHADO DA ROSA, *University of Wisconsin*)

*Proust et la stratégie littéraire; Avec des lettres de Marcel Proust à René Blum, Bernard Grasset et Louis Brun.* Par Léon Pierre-Quint. Paris: Corrèa, 1954. Pp. vii + 184. The name of Léon Pierre-Quint deserves respect for his contribution, in the years following Proust's death, as an interpreter and vulgarizer of *A la recherche du temps perdu*. His *Marcel Proust: sa vie, son œuvre* (Kra, 1925), to which were added, in 1928, an *édition revue et corrigée*, and two other volumes of letters, variants, and bibliography, were landmarks in their time. Despite their hasty assemblage and an uncritical acceptance of anecdotal material, these early works were useful in encouraging new readers to acquaint themselves with the Proustian universe, and served as a point of departure for more serious studies.

It would be ungracious, merely because Pierre-Quint has been superseded in his *genre* by André Maurois and others, to gainsay our debt of yesteryear. Nevertheless, it must be admitted that his new volume is essentially a re-printing of *Comment parut "Du Côté de chez Swann."* *Lettres de Marcel Proust. Introduction et commentaires par Léon Pierre-Quint* (Kra, 1930). The author has been content to prefix to his original edition a few introductory pages, and to make an occasional minor addition or stylistic alteration.



In the guise of "inédits," we encounter passages from letters published elsewhere, presented in each case without references. Particularly revealing is the author's method of handling some alleged *inédits* addressed to Paul Souday (pp. 78-81). He begins with a sentence which does, indeed, appear to be *inédite*: "Si, faute d'un plan général, certains épisodes du début peuvent sembler oiseux et parasites, ils reprendront bientôt leur place dans l'ensemble." This is startling, because Proust, if he actually wrote it, is admitting that he *had no general plan*: but we know that on innumerable occasions, he stoutly maintained the contrary. This is followed without interruption by a sentence taken from letter VI to Souday (*Correspondance générale*, III, 72), without the usual points of suspension to indicate deletions, but containing one gross error: "... le dernier chapitre du premier [instead of *dernier*] volume a été écrit tout de suite après le premier chapitre du premier volume." The quotation ends with a sentence borrowed from letter V of the same volume. All of this is presented as Proust's reply to Souday's article on *Swann* in *Le Temps* of 10 December 1913, although the letters quoted were written just six years later, and had nothing to do with that early article. M. Pierre-Quint then goes on to quote one sentence (p. 80) which *does* reply to the early article of 1913 (letter II), after which he presents as a *pastiche* of the same article a passage from one of Proust's letters of 1922 (letter XX). Then M. Pierre-Quint interrupts: "Et il ajoute ce trait cinglant:" and quotes inexactly from letter II, dated 1913. This is the sort of patchwork that M. Pierre-Quint calls *fragments inédits*.

The reader might at least have expected, under the promised "précisions nouvelles," that the author would date his letters correctly. All of the letters presented in the volume have been dated; M. Pierre-Quint had but to go to the Bibliothèque Nationale and consult my work on Proust's correspondence for the dates.<sup>1</sup> Instead, he has reproduced the letters exactly as originally published, in the same disorderly sequence, with numbers of them undated or misdated.

By his own admission, M. Pierre-Quint has for so long lost contact with Proust's work that it is hardly surprising to find nothing in the way of new information about Proust. What the author has learned since publishing his early work merely serves to add to the general distortion of the picture he presents. Where he attempts to fill in with additional information, the result frequently is an additional error. Thus, he tells us: "Proust n'est jamais parvenu à faire dactylographier son texte," (p. 24), although he had merely to turn to page 43, where he has reproduced a text from the earlier edition proving, to the contrary, that considerable portions of the text were typewritten. The statement that Antoine Bibesco invited Proust to dine in Gide's company, in order to offer *Swann* to the N.R.F. is incorrect, as is the allusion to Gide's and Rivière's visits to Proust's apartment in 1914 (pp. 113 and 116); Gide saw Proust for the first time since 1892 when he visited him on the 24th February 1916;<sup>2</sup> Rivière did not meet Proust personally until 1919.<sup>3</sup> Montesquieu never "solicited" Proust's help in order to obtain the publication of his art criticism (pp. 91-92, note 1), as is proved beyond question by Proust's correspondence with Montesquieu (letters CCXLVII and CCXLVIII) and Boulenger. The author assumes (p. 170) that negotiations for the publication of Proust's works by Gallimard were not concluded until after Gallimard's return from America late in 1918.

1. *La Correspondance de Marcel Proust: chronologie et commentaire critique* (Urbana: The University of Illinois Press, 1949), pp. 260-63 and 458-59.

2. *Œuvres complètes d'André Gide*, VIII, 223.

3. See Marcel Proust et Jacques Rivière, *Correspondance (1914-1922) présentée et annotée par Philip Kolb*. Paris: Plon, 1955.

The truth is that a contract had been made in 1916; Proust received his first set of proof, long delayed, in November 1917. The date of Proust's Goncourt prize (p. 171) was 10 December (not November) 1919.

The value of documents, no matter how interesting, cannot but be impaired when handled in so cavalier a manner. The text of letters we have been able to collate with that of more reliable publications is so faulty here that one wonders how much confidence we can have in those texts for which M. Pierre-Quint remains the sole guarantor. (PHILIP KOLB, *University of Illinois*)

*The Contemporary French Novel.* By Henri Peyre. New York: Oxford University Press, 1955. Pp. 363. In this substantial book, Professor Peyre specifically discusses Martin du Gard, Duhamel, Romain Rolland and Radiguet, Proust and Gide, Mauriac, Giono, Saint-Exupéry, Malraux, Existentialism and Sartre, Camus and Simone de Beauvoir. He also gives us chapters, early, on the crisis in French fiction between 1910 and 1930, and late, on the influence of the American novel. His conclusion considers the present "temper" in France, and there are appendixes listing current writers and translations. A consensus of his opinions on the matter would seem to indicate that his concern is with the novelists of greatest importance since 1930, since Proust and Gide. The absence of explicit treatment of Bernanos, Montherlant, Céline, though each is more or less adequately disposed of, may suggest, in the presence of Radiguet, say, and of a rather extended discussion of *La Porte étroite*, that there is some difference between the author's expressed intentions and his product.

The book has the many values which those familiar with Professor Peyre's work will expect, and it will have much use. To complain about his handling of a job which so far no one else has done may seem to be ungrateful; but it is precisely because his book is for the moment without competitors that the many students who are likely to depend on it should be warned against taking it as a model or supposing that it is altogether trustworthy. Its author's prestige might lead them to think it would be both.

The point is, and Professor Peyre clearly makes it in his introduction, that *The Contemporary French Novel* is not aimed at specialists, or even at those who are beginning to specialize, in French Literature. It pretends neither to unusual depth nor to discovery and would merely acquaint its readers with the general outlines, as Professor Peyre sees some of them, and with a few of the more considerable figures, of what may well be the most enticing branch of recent fiction. As a rapid conversation with an exceedingly widely read lover of letters, it is a sometimes engaging, rarely pompous, and at moments suggestive book. Its unique feature, the appendix "Panorama of Present-day Novelists," will be invaluable to the large and harried company which finds it next to impossible to keep up with what Gaëtan Picon calls "la nouvelle littérature." And if Professor Peyre is on occasion difficult to pin down, it is at least to some extent because committing himself is no part of his engagement and his primary concern is to show the way to readers who have no charts and who might like to know which way to go, what to read, in a period in which a novel, as Professor Peyre well observes, is more and other than just an entertainment.

Intended audience apart, what most harms the book, and what may to some degree account for Professor Peyre's elusiveness in a good bit of it, is that it is a hybrid. Published in 1955, it represents a revision of lectures given in 1944, a year of less perspective, of much greater confusion. In its construction, in its subject matter

and in its author's frequent efforts to assure us that it is unified, it bears the marks of its double genesis. And to the matter of a less than adequate revision there must unfortunately be added the really inexcusable carelessness of editors, of the overseers of Professor Peyre's generally excellent English, and particularly of Professor Peyre himself. However appropriate *disponibilité* may be in a guide, the reader is likely to be confused at times if he is reading more slowly than the book in its present form was written. A number of contradictions, some trivial or merely apparent but some involving tangible errors, might be cited, but the reader will find them for himself—fortunately Professor Peyre has the nearly infallible knack of correcting his own mistakes elsewhere in his own text. These contradictions, however, are symptomatic of a deeper uncertainty which is not apparent in the sections of the book which would appear to be primarily of a single vintage. What is too bad is that there are moments when Professor Peyre sounds as if he were less concerned with the complexities and ambiguities of fiction and criticism than with eating his cake and having it too.

Obviously one prefers in a review to argue substantive matters, to question choices, methods, principles. Here the failure to do so has been dictated by prior considerations, indeed rather elementary ones, but it is a failure which a fairly general knowledge of Professor Peyre's allegiances makes less important than it might have been. It is no surprise, for example, to find that he is critical of the "New Criticism" or that to Jean Giraudoux he much prefers Jean-Paul Sartre. I would close, having found fault with a good deal, by insisting upon what seems to me to be Professor Peyre's entire dedication in this book. Its flaws derive from circumstances, circumstances all too familiar to everyone in a hard-pressed profession. What is most disturbing is that they lead to works which are far less satisfying than their authors might have made them. (B. M-P. L.)

*The Individual and the Group in French Literature Since 1914.* By Louise Jones Hubbard. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press, 1955. Pp. 138. Miss Hubbard's little book is, essentially, a catalogue of references to the individual in his social and political groups, culled from the works of some seventy-five contemporary French authors and presented, generally, in a clear and informative way. As a reference work in literary history it has much value. To the limited extent that it touches on Miss Hubbard's own judgments and conclusions it is disappointing and unobjective.

The "Family" is examined through the writings of Mauriac, Hériat, Bordeaux, and others, and Miss Hubbard stresses those negative forces in a lay, materialistic society that offset what she calls "the fundamental need for familial relationship." A chapter on the "Community" traces the fictional themes of man's inability to free himself from natural social institutions; in "Ephemeral Groups" we find the individual saved from absurdity through membership in a team or fraternity (Malraux, Saint-Exupéry, Kessel). Most interesting, because of the variety of the positions studied, is the discussion of the individual in the political state. Châteaubriant and Chamson represent here the pro and con of fascism. Arland, Henriot and the then "disponible" Sartre confront the pro-Communists Aragon and Daniel-Rops as do such intellectual opposites as Béraud and Gide who, on a political plane at least, share a common disillusionment. The final chapter examines the ostracized and anarchic individuals (Lacretelle's *Silbermann*; Green's *Léviathan*) and those

who reject what Miss Hubbard calls "a vertical philosophy" [God] for "a fruitless insistence on self."

One wonders here why the strange world of Marcel Proust is nowhere mentioned in this book. Could it be that Miss Hubbard is hesitant to recognize that eccentricity and unconventionality often do survive both within a social context and beyond the tradition of social ethics? Some of Proust's people would, of course, destroy the thesis that integrated man and moral (> *mores*) man are necessarily one and the same.

The weakness of a study of this kind is that one tends, perhaps unwittingly, to confuse the moral and the esthetic aims of fiction. When Miss Hubbard considers writers who consciously uphold a political or moral thesis (Châteaubriant, Aragon, Mauriac) she is on safe ground. But to draw from a work of fiction moralistic conclusions that are not implicit in that work itself is a dangerous practice. If the heroes of Montherlant, Camus or Martin du Gard sometimes fail as "individuals" one cannot conclude that these writers are showing, even incidentally, the rightness or wrongness of individualism or revolt. If some of Gide's characters (*L'Immoraliste*, *Les Faux-Monnayeurs*) are hedonistic or counterfeit, the fault is rather in their character and actions than in any inherent or defined quality of the individual or the group as such. As Gide has said to those who saw moral judgments in his fiction "Je n'ai cherché de rien prouver, mais de bien peindre et d'éclairer bien ma peinture."

The individual and the group, in fiction as in life, cannot interact in any prescribed way. The writer is an observer of life and character but, above all, he is an artist. And one cannot imply, as Miss Hubbard seems to, that one of the functions of creative art is to defend or mould behavior beyond the immediate connection of the artist with the characters of his fiction. (JAMES C. McLAREN, *The Johns Hopkins University*)

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